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# Untangling the History of the Pawling/Wetherill House at Walnut Hill Estate Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township Montgomery County, Pennsylvania

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A THESIS
in
The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
1992

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# Acknowledgements

Many people provided important contributions and critical support which made this research possible. Sam Harris, my thesis advisor, was a wellspring of insight and philosophical grounding. John Milner agreed to be my reader, and brought to this research his tremendous knowledge of 18th century Pennsylvania architecture. John even brought his students to help when Walnut Hill was the subject of study for one team from the "Documentation and Site Analysis" class during Spring, 1991. Fellow students Rob Fitzgerald and Tim Long offered their time and experience on site and helped to digest the many pieces of the puzzle.

The last private owners of the farm are to be commended for their heroic rescue of the property in the 1940s, and are likewise to be consoled for their loss when the mansion burned in 1967. P.J. Boulware, a son of these owners, contributed his memories as well as a treasure trove of photos taken before the fire.

The staff of the Valley Forge National Historical Park receive special thanks for their help and support. In particular, Bob Dodson, Chief of Cultural Resources Management should be commended for recognizing the importance of the structure and for supporting its study and continuing repairs.

Finally, a special thanks must go to my wife, Anne, for her unending support and especially for her tolerance of my other love: historic buildings.

# Abstract

"Walnut Hill Estate", located on Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, contains remnants from over 250 years occupation. Among the surviving structures is a partially ruined mansion house, a portion of which most likely witnessed the Revolutionary War encampment of 1777-78 at Valley Forge, arguably one of the most important events in American history.

Documentation of the dates of major construction periods of this house has proved somewhat elusive. Numerous references to the site and its early owners exist in various publications spanning the last century and a half, but few have proved to contain much factually derived information. A comprehensive study of primary sources and a detailed analysis of the building's fabric are required to fully explain its history.

# Introduction

Across the Schuylkill River from Washington's Valley Forge headquarters are located the remains of an agricultural landscape developed over nearly three centuries. Among the structures and ruins stands a partially ruined mansion, portions of which may predate the Revolutionary War encampment of 1777-78. Revolutionary War documents and local oral history place the encampment's commissary activities in the vicinity of this farm[1] which has accordingly been included inside the boundaries of the Valley Forge National Historical Park. Before the National Park Service develops a plan for conservation and interpretation of this site, there must exist a reasonable record of both the structures that existed and the events which transpired during the encampment. This study will attempt to shed as much light as possible on the history of the house, relying for the most part on primary historical sources and on the house itself.

## The Pawling/ Wetherill Mansion House:

An examination of the remains of the house reveals a structure which was constructed in two distinct phases. The larger section of the house, a massive two and a half story stone structure with columns across two sides, appears to date from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, adapting elements of the Greek Revival style in a unique composition.

In 1967 a disastrous fire destroyed the roof of this section. It was never repaired and the rest of the house was gradually destroyed by the elements.

Attached to the northern end of this structure is a two and a half story stone wing, significantly smaller in scale than the rest of the house. Protected from the fire by a massive stone wall, this section of the house has survived remarkably intact. An examination of the interior reveals many features and details which suggest that this wing dates from the middle of the 18th century. Unfortunately, many details were obscured by alterations in the 19th and 20th centuries. In order to understand the physical history of this house, a detailed examination of both the architectural fabric and the archival record is required.

Information Requirements of the National Park Service:

Valley Forge National Historical Park was authorized by an act of Congress to "preserve and commemorate for the people of the United States the area associated with the heroic suffering, hardship, and determination and resolve of General George Washington's Continental Army during the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge."[2] The management policies of the National Park Service require that structures which are related to the central mission of a park will be restored and preserved. Structures which date to a later time period and

have no historical or architectural significance of their own are usually preserved as is or are removed.

In the case of the Pawling House, the preservation of the house depends on its historical relation to the Revolutionary War encampment. If this can be proven with some certainty, then the NPS is obligated to restore and preserve the house. Preservation alternatives are complicated, however, by the ruinous condition of the 19th century wing and by the apparent destruction of portions of the 18th century house. It is therefore necessary to describe with some accuracy the physical history and condition of the house as well as its historical associations.

Research Goals:

Because of the special requirements of the National Park Service, the historical significance of this house depends on a single criteria:

> Did this structure play a part in the Revolutionary War encampment of 1777-78?

A thorough examination of the archival record and of the building's architectural fabric were undertaken in order to provide the information necessary to meet that criteria. A documentary history of the site will provide the necessary foundation for relating the site to the Valley Forge Encampment. An analysis of the architectural fabric will

ascertain the age of the house and the degree to which the significant fabric has survived.

# Chapter 1
# A Documentary History of the Site

## Introduction:

In order to ascertain the ownership and occupancy of the house during the winter of 1777-78, a considerable amount of archival research was necessary. Many secondary sources confidently refer to the tenure of the Pawling family over the land, repeatedly mentioning the name Henry Pawling. However, any attempt to make sense of the early history was frustrated by countless conflicting and poorly documented references. It was found that the property was owned for over a century by a succession of Henry Pawlings. Among the many branches of the Pawling family, each family in every generation appears to have named a son Henry. Also there were a few cases where first cousins were married, further complicating the picture. With diligent attention to basic genealogical and archival research, the author has been able to bring much needed clarity to the Pawling tenure of the land.

## Early History of the Pawling Family in America:

The history of the Pawling family in America began with the arrival of Henry Pawling in 1664.[1] Pawling was a member of a force of English soldiers sent to secure the Dutch colony of New Netherlands where, upon arrival, he was elected Captain of the detachment.[2] Henry remained in the Province of New York, acquiring property and settling along the border of the

towns of Marbletown and Hurley in Ulster County in the early 1670s.[3] In 1676 he married Neeltje Roosa, a woman of Dutch descent, and began a family at the Marbletown farm.[4] The house he built probably began as a log house in the early 1670s and was either extended or replaced with a stone house in the 1690s.[5] This house was then extended by successive generations of Pawlings and survived well into the 20th century.[6]

Henry Pawling (I):

Captain Henry Pawling died in 1695 leaving a widow, three sons and four daughters.[7] All of the sons were minors at the time of his death. Within a few years Albert (baptized 1685, died 1745) had come of age to manage the farm and to take care of the his mother.[8] Albert's two brothers Henry (born 1689, died 1739) and John (1681-1733)[9] left the Hudson River area and by 1719 had moved to Pennsylvania where they purchased large tracts of land in Philadelphia County.[10]

In order to keep track of the various Henry Pawlings who eventually own and occupy the land along the Schuykill River, they will be assigned a Roman Numeral starting with the son of Captain Henry Pawling. This system will be consistent with other recent research reports.

The circumstances surrounding the brothers' move to Pennsylvania are an intriguing area of study. Even though the

English had ousted all Dutch authority in North America in the 1660s, Dutchmen continued to immigrate to New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in varying numbers through the 18th and 19th centuries. William Penn himself was impressed with the industriousness of the Dutch settlers and even made two trips to Holland in the 1670s. The town of Germantown, near Philadelphia, was initially settled by a combination of Germans and Dutch, with the Dutch far outnumbering the Germans for the first quarter century of the town's existence.[11]

It is unclear how the Pawlings learned of the land in Pennsylvania prior to their move from New York. There was another early settler to Pennsylvania named Henry Pawlin who purchased land in Bucks County in the late 17th century, along the Neshaminy and two lots in Philadelphia.[12] It is unknown what, if any, connection there was between the two Pawling names. John Pawling, in 1709, while still living in New York, purchased a tract of land in the Perkiomen area. This 625 acre tract was purchased in common with Isaac Du Bois, one of John's neighbors in New York, and was not resold until 1746, long after both men had died.[13] In 1713, John purchased a 500 acre tract near the present Evansburg and the Perkiomen Creek,[14] and in 1719, his brother, Henry Pawling (I), purchased another 500 acres at the junction of the Perkiomen and the Schuykill River.[15]

The two Pawling brothers were early members in the Anglican St. James Church in Evansburg, Pennsylvania, a small village on the Perkiomen Creek adjacent to John Pawling's farm.[16] This is an interesting fact, given that the Pawlings, like many of the early English settlers along the Hudson River, seem to have been absorbed into the Dutch community. Later waves of Dutch New Yorkers brought their own Church with them when they resettled in Pennsylvania.[17]

The land purchased by Henry Pawing (I) was a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the Schuykill River and the Perkiomen creek with rich wet bottomland along the waterways (Figure 1). To the east of the farm was the Fatland Ford, an early crossing of the Schuylkill. Another convenient ford, at the western edge of the farm became known as Pawling's Ford. Immediately south of the property, Valley Creek empties into the Schuykill River. An important early iron forge was established along Valley Creek and the area became known as Valley Forge.[18]

The Pawlings set about establishing a plantation and at the time of Henry's death in 1739 the family had cleared some land for tillage and pasture and owned a few head of livestock.[19] It is assumed that some type of dwelling was erected on the farm in the early years, especially since Henry had arrived with his wife, Jacomintje Kunst, and several young

children. It remains to be discovered just where this original farmstead was located and of what material the house was constructed. One can only assume that a log house was built, owing to the need for shelter and the undeveloped nature of the area.

Henry Pawling (II):

When Henry Pawling (I) died at the age of 50 in 1739, he left no will and so his estate was administered by his widow Jacomintje and his oldest son Henry.[20] Henry Pawling (II) (born 1713, died 1792) soon thereafter married his first cousin Eleanor Pawling, daughter of Henry (II)'s brother John.[21] Henry (II) was able to gain full ownership of his father's plantation. As the text of later deeds testifies, his other siblings relinquished all claims to him as they matured and left home.[22] Some of these siblings returned to the Hudson River valley. John Pawling, brother of Henry (II) returned to Dutchess County and gained title to lands that his grandfather, Captain Henry Pawling had purchased from the indians.[23] There John built a house in 1761 where he settled with his wife Neeltje, his first cousin.[24] Another brother of Henry (II), Levi, also returned to New York. Levi inherited from his uncle Albert Pawling the farm and house of his grandfather Captain Henry Pawling in Marbletown, Ulster County.[25] It is important to note here that these three brothers, Henry in Pennsylvania and John and Levi in New York

lived through the Revolutionary War period and raised large families. Many of their sons were involved in the conflict and many events occurred on or near their homes.[26] The probability is high that some amount of archival resources have survived, such as family letters, diaries, deeds or church records.

At this point it is worth commenting on the relationships of the various Henry Pawlings which were living around the middle of the 18th century. Henry Pawling (II) of Walnut Hill was the son of Henry Pawling (I) and the grandson of Captain Henry Pawling. Henry (II) married his first cousin Eleanor Pawling, daughter of Henry (I)'s brother John. Eleanor Pawling also had a brother named Henry who lived in Evansburg and inherited some of his father's estate, however, he died in 1763.[27] Henry (II) and Eleanor had a son named Henry (III) and he in turn had a son named Henry. Additionally, to thoroughly complicate the picture, almost all of these Henrys are referred to, at one time or another, as Henry Pawling,Jr. or as Henry Pawling,Esq. By carefully comparing pieces of information found on wills, deeds, letters, grave stones and other primary sources, these individuals can be accounted for with some degree of accuracy.

Having married by around 1740,[28] Henry (II) and Eleanor Pawling raised a large family and continued to live on the

land purchased by Henry (I) in 1719.[29] According to local oral history. Henry (II) built the earliest remaining portion of the Walnut Hill house in 1743.[30] It is possible that this house was an addition to the house Henry (I) built earlier in the century. This seems like a likely scenario given that Henry (II) was managing his father's estate and taking care of his siblings and his widowed mother. A strong spring exists close to the house and would have been an important attraction for this site.

Henry's financial status appears to have been quite strong during the decade of the 1740s. In 1746, Henry and Eleanor sold their interest in a large tract of land which had been purchased by Eleanor's father, John Pawling, in 1709.[31] As was mentioned above, Henry was able to secure clear title to his father's plantation as his siblings matured and left home. It is unclear whether he made monetary payments to them in return for their releases of claim to the estate. In addition, Henry was able to purchase additional land along the eastern edge of the original 500 acre estate. In 1740 he bought 192 acres from Edward Farmer and in 1748 he bought 70 acres from Thomas Lewis.[32] The purchases of these properties increased Henry's overall estate to over 700 acres by mid-century.

In addition to owning and managing a large estate, Henry

Pawling (II) was active in local and Provincial legal affairs. From May 25, 1752, and for some years afterwards, he was justice of the peace and of the Court of Common Pleas for Philadelphia County.[33] In 1751, he served as a member of the Provincial Assembly for Philadelphia County, serving in this role from 1764 until the outbreak of the Revolution.[34]

Henry Pawling (II) was very active in the development of his own land as well as the development of roads and river crossings in the general area. His name appears on numerous petitions before the provincial government concerning the construction of roads.[35] Pawling's Ford was a convenient crossing of the Schuylkill River for travellers making their way from western Chester County to Ridge Pike and Germantown Pike. The Pawlings operated a rope ferry at the site prior to the Revolutionary War[36] and a toll bridge was constructed in the early 19th century.[37]

Another possible site for the earliest homestead is the farmstead which existed near Pawling's Ford. The Schuykill was an important transportation route during the early years of the Pennsylvania colony, used to carry people and goods to Philadelphia. The wet, boggy quality of the Pawling riverfront would not have been a very healthy place to live, however, given the annual spring flooding.

It is unclear whether the ford or any of the roads existed in any form prior to the land's purchase by the Pawlings. This is an important point relative to the location of the original Henry Pawling (I) homestead. A more important and probably earlier ford was located just down river from Henry's land, the Fatland Ford. This ford was at the beginning of the Baptist Road, an important early highway running south towards Radnor. It seems likely that Henry (I) would have located his homestead on land closer to the nearest ford and important road.

During the decade prior to the Revolutionary War, the Valley Forge area grew and prospered, as did much of the Delaware Valley. In addition to the Mount Joy Forge operation, a water powered sawmill and gristmill operated along Valley Creek, just across the Schuykill from the Pawlings' farms.[38] Some of the account books from the Mount Joy Forge have survived and provide a glimpse into the affairs of the day.[39] The records cover a period of years from 1757 until 1767 and as might be expected, Henry Pawling is mentioned quite often. The account book covering August, 1757-August 1759 lists such items as hauling logs, purchases of nails, 6 bushels of lime, etc. The account book for June 1759-May 1761 lists the purchase of such items as shingle nails, lathe, iron and smith work. These entries could well relate to the construction of one of the structures on Henry's farm, however, these records

cover only a period of a few years and are therefore of limited use in dating the construction of the house at Walnut Hill. There is also an entry noting a charge to Henry for eleven months rent for the mill.[40]

Revolutionary War Period:

While countless volumes have been written about the famous Valley Forge winter encampment, little primary documentation has been uncovered which clearly describes the impacts on the local population. However, it can be safely inferred that the encampment was extremely destructive to the Pawlings' land and property. One small fact which turned up was that Henry's wife Eleanor died on June 26, 1778, only a few days after the Continental Army had evacuated the camp.[41] Many of Henry's neighbors filed claims for damages after the war. A particularly detailed account of damages was discovered concerning the estate of Judge William Moore.[42] Moore Hall, still standing a few miles upriver from Valley Forge, was ransacked by the English Army during the summer of 1777 and was occupied by the Continental Army during the encampment of the following winter. This document is noteworthy on many counts. Not only does it recount significant events of the Revolutionary War, it describes in great detail the types of crops and implements found on a large estate in 1777. One particularly important entry reads:

> To the use of my mill for a forage Store 7 Months...[43]

This entry is one of the only concrete contemporary references known linking a particular encampment activity to a known place.

After the Revolutionary War, Henry Pawling (II) continued to live at the old farmhouse. This is an important fact to establish given the somewhat cryptic quality of the archival record. As was stated above, there were a number of Henry Pawlings in the general vicinity during the third quarter of the 18th century. Henry (II)'s cousin/brother-in-law Henry Pawling died in 1763.[44] Henry (II)'s son, Henry (III), had been raised at the Walnut Hill farm and continued to live in the area after leaving home. His name appears in the tax rolls for Norriton Township during the 1770s and 1780s and in the 1790 Federal Census.[45] A deed dated April 25, 1775 neatly establishes that this Henry is indeed the son of Henry Pawling (II).[46] During this same period, Henry Pawling (II) continues to appear in the Provincial tax roles and in the 1790 federal census for Providence Township.

In the first federal census of 1790, Henry Pawling (II) can be found living more or less alone.[47] In 1791, in failing health, Henry (II) wrote his will.[48] At his death in 1792, his will divided his property among his heirs. A portion of the original 500 acre tract had already been given to his son

John.[49] This was the portion of land containing the ford and the ferry over the Schuylkill. (Figure 2) At this time, an additional tract was given to John in the will.[50] Another 100 acres, to the east of the Walnut Hill tract, was given at this time to Henry's son Nathan Pawling, adding to land already given to Nathan by deed.[51] This farm was at the eastern end of the original Henry Pawling (I) plantation and was adjacent to the Fatland Ford. This was the land purchased by Henry Pawling (II) in the 1740s.[52] It is likely that this land was also pressed into service by the Continental Army during the winter encampment since it was adjacent to the Fatland Ford.

The portion of land which was later to be known as Walnut Hill was given to Henry's second son, Henry Pawling (III). The will reads:

> I give and devise unto my son Henry Pawling his Heirs and assigns forever all the remainder of my tract of land in Providence Township...it being that part on which my Mansion House stands and in which I now live...[53]

An inventory was taken at the time of Henry (II)'s death and is included in the Addenda.

Henry Pawling (III):

Henry Pawling (III) was the last Pawling to own the Walnut Hill property. It is important to point out that when Henry (II) died in 1792, Henry (III) was living in Norrington Township, a few miles down the Schuylkill from his father and

brothers.[54] In fact, Henry (III) appears to remain there until around 1796.[55] The records of the 1798 "Window Pane Tax" show that Henry (III) had finally occupied his father's farm.[56] It is unclear who occupied the house in the meantime.

The 1798 "Window Pane Tax" records some valuable information about the property. Henry is listed as owning a two story stone dwelling house measuring 45 feet by 32 feet. It is listed as containing six windows with twenty four panes and thirteen windows with fifteen panes. In addition there is a stone springhouse measuring 15 feet by 15 feet. No kitchen is mentioned. Also listed are two dwelling houses or outhouses worth less than 100 dollars and a stone barn measuring 45 feet by 30 feet. This information will be discussed at length in Chapter 2.

Little is known about the early life of Henry Pawling (III). In 1775, while living in Norriton Township, he was given property there by his father and mother. [57] During the Revolutionary War he was a captain in Col. Robert Lewis's Battalion of the Flying Camp in 1776.[58] He appears to have been involved in the establishment of the town of Norristown when it became the seat of the newly formed Montgomery County.[59] His name appears as the Register of Deeds for the county on some of the deeds recording the division of his father's estate in 1792.[60]

By the time Henry (III) had moved to Walnut Hill, he had already raised a large family. His eldest son, Levi Pawling, was a prominent lawyer in Norristown during the first half of the 19th century.[61] Another son, William, built a house on a piece of land carved out of the property which Henry (III) had inherited from Henry (II).[62] This house survived well into the 20th century and the property is now owned by the Catholic Church.

When Henry Pawling (III) died in 1822, he was buried alongside his brothers and parents in the Evansburg cemetery.[63] His will instructed that his farm be sold.[64] Levi Pawling and James Milnor, the executors for Henry's estate advertised the property in the Norristown Gazette.[65] In this ad, the house is described as having "four rooms on a floor, with an entry through". This is the only known description of the house prior to its later enlargement. This description will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

The Wetherill Family Period

The history of the Walnut Hill farm after the death of Henry Pawling (III) has been well documented in other recent studies.[66] While the major thrust of this report is concerned with the surviving 18th century fabric, information about the site's 19th century history proved to be invaluable in interpreting the full measure of the changes to the house and

in establishing significant periods of construction campaigns.

After the death of Henry Pawling (III), the farm was finally sold to Samuel Wetherill,Jr. in 1826.[67] Wetherill began acquiring property in the area with the purchase of the Mill Grove estate in 1813 and gradually assembled an enormous estate.[68] In 1825 he purchased the 233 acre farm of the late John Pawling at Pawling's Bridge.[69] This farm was adjacent to the Walnut Hill farm and was the western part of the Henry Pawling (I) plantation. A year later, Wetherill purchased the 157 1/2 acre farm at Walnut Hill. (Figure 3) The Wetherills immediately began to improve the estate, building an enormous stone barn during the first year.[70] (Plate 69)

Samuel Wetherill,Jr. died in 1829, leaving a wife, Rachel, and six children.[71] Rachel was bequeathed the family house in Philadelphia and the large "Bakewell Farm" in Montgomery County.[72] This was later named Fatlands and was greatly improved later in the century. The rest of Samuel's property was ordered to be equally divided among his children "...to hold...in equal parts as Tenants in Common...".[73] The estate remained intact until Rachel Wetherill's death in 1844. At this time the estate was ordered divided and the Walnut Hill farm was awarded to John Price Wetherill.[74] Shortly thereafter, in October, 1844, John Price Wetherill purchased the adjacent farm of 99 acres from the estate of the deceased

William Pawling.[75] William was the son of Henry Pawling (III) and owned a portion of the farm which Henry Pawling (II) had bequeathed to Henry Pawling (III) in 1792.

It is likely that the major reconstruction of the mansion house at Walnut Hill occurred during the period before Samuel's estate was formally divided. Before the fire of 1967, a date of 1836 was visible on a large sheet metal collector box atop one of the rainwater downspouts.[76] Also, a photo dating to the early 20th century describes the house as having been constructed at that date.[77]

Other surviving structures on the estate which appear to date to this period of construction and improvement are a stone privy, a springhouse and the corral around the barnyard. (Plates 70,71) In 1845, the large stone barn built on the property by Samuel Wetherill,Jr. was doubled in size by John Price Wetherill.[78] It is likely that the Walnut Hill farm was used as a country retreat by this Wetherill. At his death in 1853, his property is referred to as "my dwelling house in Dock Street and my country place at Perkiomen" and was bequeathed to his widow, Maria Kane Wetherill.[79]

Maria Kane lived at Walnut Hill until her death in 1877. Her will directed that her estate be divided among her children and that they were to "share and share alike".[80]

However, on June 4, 1878, the 157 1/2 acre Walnut Hill farm was awarded to one of her daughters, Maria L. (Wetherill) Janeway.[81] Maria L. and he husband, Reverend John Livingstone Janeway, made the house their home and raised a large family.[82] This period of ownership probably relates to a period of renovation found in the house, possibly reflecting a change in the status of the estate from summer country house to permanent residence.

Another structure remains on the farm which also probably dates to this period. This is a two and a half story wooden tenant farmer's house whose interior detailing strongly resembles some of the later door casings found in the Pawling wing of the house.(Plate 72).

When Maria L. Janeway died in 1890, her will directed that her property be placed into trust with the profits to be paid over to her surviving children.[83] Her two daughters and her husband were allowed to remain living in the mansion house until their deaths, upon which time the estate would be divided among her grandchildren.

After Maria L. Janeway's death, very little appears to have been done to the house. When the mansion house and the remaining 57 acre farm were sold to Philadelphia architect Lyle Boulware in 1949, the house had no plumbing, wiring or

central heating system.[84] (Plates 1-6)

After spending almost two decades renovating and improving the property, the Boulwares lost the mansion to a disastrous fire in 1967.[85] A small fire was started atop one of the columns by an elderly painter when he was attacked by wasps. The fire quickly spread into the roof and within a few hours the house was almost totally consumed.[86] The Boulwares moved into the tiny springhouse and lived out their days in the shadow of the mansion ruin.

The National Park Service acquired the farm in 1984[87] and has been studying the site and its preservation in earnest since the late 1980s in order to prepare a General Management Plan for the area.

# Chapter 2
# Analysis of Architectural Fabric

## Introduction:

A thorough investigation was undertaken to document all of the surviving evidence. This chapter will serve to compile all of the evidence collected and to interpret the evolution of the 18th century portion of the house.

## General Description of the House:

As it now exists, the house is composed of two principal sections. The larger section, to the south, was severely damaged by fire. Before the fire this section was a grandly scaled country house with simple Grecian detailing.(Plates 1-8) A monumental colonnade extended around the south and east facades, providing shade and a comfortable vantage point from which to view the Schuylkill River and the hills of Valley Forge beyond.(Plate 2) This section of the house appears to have been built in 1836 as a summer villa by John Price Wetherill. Besides its simple Greek Revival detailing, the exterior of the house is characterized by a buff colored stucco. This coating was finished with sand and scored in imitation of fine stonework and was applied to the entire house including both the 18th and 19th century sections and the brick columns.(Plate 7) Among the surviving outbuildings on the farm, the stone privy (Plate 70) and spring house (Plate 71) were treated with the same scored stucco finish.

The floor plan of the 19th century house contained elements common to many houses of its date. (Figure 4) A central stair hall gave access to an enormous ballroom to the south and a dining room and parlor to the north.(Plate 8) A full basement floor contained the kitchen and servant spaces. A sunken walkway below the veranda allowed for multiple windows and doors into this lower floor.

Attached to the northern end of this enormous house is a diminutive stone wing built in an altogether different scale.(Plate 6) Local historians have long held that this end of the house was built by the Pawling family during the 18th century. When a disastrous fire destroyed the roof and upper floor of the 19th century wing in 1967, this section of the house was protected by a thick stone wall and only suffered minor damage to its roof. (Plate 11) Rainwater and decades of neglect have since destroyed most of the remaining fabric of the 19th century wing and severely damaged the 18th century wing. (Plate 12)

Now that the majority of the house is in ruin or near ruin, many of the details of its construction are easily examined. It is apparent that no 18th century building fabric survives to the south of the stone wall separating the two sections. For this reason, the remainder of this report will be concerned with only the earlier northern wing.

18th CENTURY WING:

The surviving 18th century wing of the house is a simple two-and-a-half-story stone structure measuring approximately twenty-two feet by thirty-four feet. A considerable amount of the 18th century fabric survives intact and in place and investigation has revealed many traces of missing elements. The resulting findings reveal a uniquely conceived house of the mid-18th century of which at least half was demolished or otherwise removed.

Exterior:

North Elevation:

The north elevation, in its original form, combined many features commonly found on the principal entry facade with the added height and monumentality of the gable end.(Plate 12) The resulting composition is both unique and pleasing and stands in sharp contrast to the almost universal practice, for this time and location, of building houses with the front door on a non-gabled facade.

The detailing of the masonry of the north facade is the strongest clue to its importance. While the east and west sides of the house are faced with roughly laid and undressed stones, the north side features smoothly dressed stones laid in regular courses.(Plate 15) While the stones themselves are

not perfectly regular, the finely executed ribbon pointing produced a striking effect. The white color of the pointing and its regularity make the masonry appear to be of much finer quality. Another feature of the masonry is the use of segmental stone arches over the basement door, the two basement windows and the two windows of the first floor flanking the central front door.(Plate 16)

Other architectural features on the north elevation were apparent once the 19th century stucco was removed. Wherever the stone was originally covered up, the masonry was of uncoursed stone with no finish pointing. This rough stonework is found in an area above the central door and in a band across the gable above the second floor windows. A pent eave undoubtedly existed across the gable, similar to that found on the Isaac Potts House and at the Mill Grove Mansion house. There also appears to have been some type of frieze board below the pent which did not continue around the corner. Very little evidence remains from which to precisely document the detailing of this construction.

Above the central door, the fragmentary evidence clearly shows the presence of a cantilevered gabled door hood. Five wood outlookers were mortised into the second floor joists and cantilevered out beyond the face of the wall.(Plates 17 & 18) A small trace of the mortar flashing remains on the left side

to document the slope of the hood's roof.(Plate 19) A very faint profile can be detected on the stone to document the edge of the roof. Otherwise nothing remains to describe the design of this element. There are numerous examples of such door hoods from which to draw comparisons. Most are relatively small structures such as the one on the front of the Isaac Potts House.(Plate 76) A larger one appears on the front of the home of Anthony Wayne, Waynesborough.

The front entry doorway retains most of its original fabric.(Plate 21) The solid oak frame, extremely well preserved, is detailed with shallow ogee moldings and a shallow bead at the door stop. A transom bar was originally mortised into the frame, but appears to have been removed before the door was installed.(Plate 20) The door, hung on massive strap hinges, has simply molded raised panels on the exterior and flush vertical boarding on the interior face. (Plate 21) The outline of a large Suffolk type wrought iron latch can be seen on the door, but all of the components of this latch are now missing.

All of the original window openings remain. The window opening into Rm.102 was replaced with a door sometime during the 19th century. All of the window frames on the first and second floors are replacements dating from the 1836 reconstruction. The two small windows in the attic level

retain earlier oak frames, each of a slightly different design. It is not apparent which, if either, represents the original frame design. All window sash appear to date to the 1836 period, with the possible exception of the attic sash. The first floor windows are of nine-over-nine configuration. Those of the second floor are of six-over-six and those of the attic are of three-over-six configuration. It is possible that the sash configuration could have been made up from a smaller glass size, allowing the use of eight over twelve sash on the second floor and twelve over twelve sash on the first floor. The first floor sill would have been a few inches higher. The resulting window type would more closely resemble the evidence from the 1798 tax survey discussed in Chapter 1.

At the top of the gable is a rectangular recess in the masonry, approximating the size and location of a date stone. It is currently covered with the same stucco covering as the rest of the house. A very faint date is partly legible along the bottom of the recess. This date seems to be 1796 or 1798, but it is much too faint to be read with certainty. It remains unknown what material exists behind the stucco. It is possible that a solid stone date stone exists behind this stucco. A wooden date stone could have originally occupied the recess or perhaps an earlier inscription was written in plaster.

An area of masonry in the center of the gable may yet

contain some additional details of the house's design and date of construction.(Plate 14) The large blank area between the two attic windows and below the "date stone" appears suspiciously empty. In the Isaac Potts House a large round window occupies this location. It is possible that, in such a studied composition as this gable, some type of decorative device could have been employed.

The final element in the north elevation which contributes strongly to its character is the presence of the two corner chimneys. Corner fireplaces were a common feature in houses of the mid 18th century but they usually occurred against an interior wall in order to allow the chimney to penetrate the roof at the ridge. The two chimneys at the Pawling House rise from the outer corners of the house, creating what must have been a continual maintenance problem where the roofing sloped into the masonry stack. The location of these chimneys adds another layer of symmetry to an elevation with a central door and flanking windows. A similar elevation exists on the south gable end of the Isaac Potts house, however here the chimneys block out the opportunity for windows into the main rooms. A more useful comparison can be found in urban row houses of the 18th century, where the houses located on the corners were often designed with the entry on the gable end, usually resulting in a handsome symmetrical facade.

East Elevation:

The east elevation retains all of its original masonry. In contrast to the fine quality of the stonework of the north elevation, the stonework of the east elevation is rough and poorly laid.(Plate 12) The same dark reddish brown sandstone was used but the stones are of numerous sizes and shapes, laid with numerous chinking stones and having wide and irregular mortar joints. Two distinct types of pointing mortar is present beneath the 19th century stucco. At the top of the wall, just below the soffit, a small amount of ridge pointing remains.(Plate 23) This appears to be the original pointing, having survived by virtue of it's protected location. Most of the rest of the wall is pointed with a crude smear joint, some even showing the grooves left by the mason's fingers. (Plate 24)

As is evident on the north elevation, the grade level at the base of the east elevation appears to have originally been much higher. When the 19th century stucco was removed from the stone, a slight difference in the masonry could be discerned below the level of the floor structure of the first floor. There was a complete lack of finish pointing below this point and the bedding mortar was much more deteriorated. Similar evidence is visible on the north elevation.

The four window openings are all original to the 18th

century construction, however the wooden window frames are replacements of a slightly narrower dimension than the originals.(Plate 25) These frames appear to have been replaced at the same time as the application of the scored stucco surface. The existing frames are of heavy dimension softwood, assembled with mortise and tenon construction, and having applied moldings around the edges. The original frames would have probably more closely resembled the oak frame of the north doorway with its integral moldings and larger cross section.

The east elevation originally included a pent roof above the first floor windows. The second floor joists were extended through the wall to support the bottom of the pent in typical 18th century fashion. At the top of the pent, where the shingles met the masonry wall, a thin band of stones projected beyond the face of the wall to serve as a flashing course. This flashing course occurred just below the second floor window sills. All evidence of this feature was covered up by the 19th century stucco. When the pent was removed the joist extensions were cut off flush with the face of the wall and all of the wood framing was discarded. The projecting stone flashing course was broken off and the voids filled with brick. Similar bricks were found in the joint where the 18th and 19th century walls meet. It is likely that the pent remained in place until the 1836 reconstruction.

The cornice survives only in fragmentary form. The heavy oak framing is badly deteriorated, with most of the rafter and joist ends rotted, and only small pieces of the molding, soffit and fascia remain.(Plate 26) The construction details of this cornice are illustrated. The oak joists of the attic floor extend through the masonry for approximately 10". The oak rafters bear on a thick oak sill which is cut into the tops of the joists. An oak tenon locks the rafter to the sill. The top of the stone masonry was originally at the level of the top of the attic floor joists. At some later date, more masonry was added to extend the wall up to the bottom of the roofing. This must have helped to keep out the winter wind and rain. The stones used in this infill are smooth river stones, not the quarried brown sandstone which was used in the original construction and in the major 19th century renovations.

West Elevation:

Like the east elevation, the west elevation retains most of its original masonry and window openings. There have been some alterations to the masonry at the location of the cooking fireplace in Rm.102.(Plate 27) The two first floor window openings were narrowed and all of the window frames and sash replaced. The first floor window adjacent to the fireplace in Rm.102 appears to have been altered simultaneously with the fireplace. The brick jamb of the fireplace extends partially

into the masonry window opening, narrowing it by 4". The exterior bake oven described above would have been located to the left of this window. It is not known whether this oven and the fireplace alteration predated the 1836 renovation. It is possible that this construction was part of an earlier renovation dating from the tenure of the last Henry Pawling.

There was no evidence of a pent roof on this side of the house. The cornice is of the same design as that on the east elevation.

Basement Level:

At the basement level, all four of the stone walls appear to date to the 18th century construction. The north, east and west walls are the original foundation and basement walls supporting the 18th century walls above. The south wall, which supports two and a half stories of 19th century stone walls, appears to be of the 18th century as well. The corners appear to be well bonded to the east and west walls, the stones and mortars are very similar and the wood floor joists above are embedded in the top. A door opening into the basement of the 19th century addition shows evidence of having been cut through at a later date, suggesting that in the original house there was only a partial cellar. It is also possible that in the original house, there was a full cellar which was divided in two separate unconnected rooms. This would not have been

a common condition. When examined from its south face, this wall shows some important evidence. The 18th century masonry can be seen up to the level of the top of the first floor joists which are built into the other face of the wall.(Plate 28) There are no obvious joist pockets for corresponding floor joists bearing in the wall from the south side, however, the mortar in the wall show a slight color change above the level of the joist bearing. The south face of this wall is also very well finished, with none of the sloppiness and irregularity which would characterize the backfilled side of a basement wall. In summary, it appears reasonably certain that the basement portion of the south wall dates to the same 18th century construction period as the other three basement walls.

Many other original features survive which describe the 18th century appearance of the basement. On the north wall are a door opening and two small window openings.(Plates 29 & 30) All three openings appear original to the walls with 4" thick oak lintels over the masonry openings. Early wood jambs remain in the windows with horizontally placed iron bars.(Plate 30) No evidence of a glazed sash remains. The door opening leads to a bulkhead stair which rises to grade level next to the front door.

In the northeast corner, the masonry is corbelled out to form a base for the corner fireplace in Rm. 101.(Plate 31) In

the northwest corner of the basement, the angled corbelling is still in place, however other masonry features are present which represent various 19th century alterations to the fireplace in Rm.102 above.(Plate 32) A shallow stone engaged pier on the west wall corresponds to the delicate brick jamb of the cooking fireplace, an alteration probably dating to the 1836 reconstruction. A vaulted brick foundation corresponds to the large cement slab in the floor of Rm. 102 in front of the fireplace. This slab was probably installed to support an iron cookstove, a feature which was probably added during the late 1870s when other alterations were probably made to the house.

A brick partition in the basement encloses the northwest corner of the room. This wall most likely dates to the later 19th century renovations.

The wood framing of the floor above appears to be completely original to the 18th century construction. Massive hewn oak joists spanned across the full depth of the basement, bearing in the north and south walls.(Plate 28) A diagonal header interrupts the joists at the northeast corner. A similar condition existed at the north west corner until the fireplace above was rebuilt into a cooking hearth.

A stair opening was framed into the southwest corner along the south wall. While the joists are terribly

deteriorated, the remaining fabric shows convincing evidence that the opening was formed with mortise and tenon joints and was original to the 18th century construction.

It is important to mention here that no evidence was found to suggest that there had ever been a basement kitchen in this space. The 18th century kitchen was definitely not in this remaining wing of the house.

First Floor Level:

The main entry floor level contains a significant amount of original fabric and evidence of missing features. The floor is divided into two principal rooms, separated by a wainscotted and plastered plank framed partition. The larger room, Rm.101. retains its exterior door, panelled corner chimney breast, panelled window jambs, dado panelling and deep wood cornice.(Plates 34 & 35) Most of the alterations to this space are associated with the apparent destruction of the south wall and its replacement in 1836. Conclusive evidence remains to document the existence of a corner cupboard in the southeast corner of the room.(Plates 36 & 39)

With the exception of the south wall and its corner cupboard, Rm.101 retains its architectural fabric remarkably intact. The north entry door and frame are excellent examples of mid-18th century design. As was mentioned earlier, the oak

frame is beautifully molded on the exterior, the moldings carved into the solid frame. Due to its sheltered location, this door and frame are in excellent condition and undoubtedly retains early paint finishes. The exterior face of the door is heavily panelled with a simple raised panel detail. The interior face of the door is sheathed with vertical flush boards. Two large wrought iron strap hinges are recessed into the face of the interior boarding. A simple flat board serves to cover the interior of the oak door frame. On the hinge side of the door, the dado panelling and plastered wall of the partition run up to the door frame.(Plate 22) The other jamb and the door head are panelled. The door casing on the face of the wall is surprisingly simple and plain.(Plate 35) A flat casing with a small bead along the edge frames the door and all of the windows. Removal of portions of this casing confirmed that it is original fabric. This casing seems very crude and ill conceived when compared to the rest of the panelling in the room.

The window frames and sash are 19th century replacements as are the window stops. The jambs and heads of the windows are panelled and the outer casing is the same simple beaded board as on the north entry door. Below the windows, there is evidence of a window seat recessed into the dado panelling. A smaller raised panel existed below the seat.

The chimney breast is completely panelled.(Plate 34) A simple molding surrounds the fireplace opening and there is no mantel shelf. The fireplace is constructed with a three centered arch and notched jambs. The stonework appears to be original. There is currently brick paving on the hearth. It is not apparent when this was installed.

The dado panelling is detailed with simple heavy moldings and is topped with a molded chair rail.(Plate 39) The panelling is interrupted on the west partition at the location of the corner cupboard. When the cupboard was removed during the 19th century, new panelling was installed, closely matching the original. On the south wall, all of the panelling dates to the late 19th century renovation. The panelling is topped by a molded chair of identical profile to the chair rails found elsewhere in the house.

A deep wood cornice is in place on all four walls.(Plate 36) The lowest member of this cornice assembly serves to cap off the entry door and window trim. This helps to explain the simplicity of these casings. Like the dado panelling below, the original cornice stops at the location of the corner cupboard, now missing. A new cornice was installed to cover this area and to cover the south wall in the late 19th century.

Ample evidence remains to document the location and dimensions of the corner cupboard. The panelling, cornice and plaster finish of the west wall clearly show the presence of the side of the cupboard.(Plate 39) On the floor, a faint line traces the footprint of the diagonal cupboard. In the plaster of the 19th century south wall can be seen the location of the wood shelves inside the cupboard.(Plate 38) The original oak flooring remains below the existing finished wood floor. Buried in the masonry of the south wall behind this corner cupboard is a wooden post. Its severely deteriorated condition has denied any useful investigation, but its location below the summer beam suggests that it was installed as a temporary support during the 1836 reconstruction. (This post is only 3 or 4 inches thick and 6 inches wide, unlike the massive post directly above on the second floor.)

The plaster finish in the room is mostly from the 19th century, however, the original plaster survives intact on the west partition. This wall is constructed of rough sawn vertical wood planks. These planks are overlapped and clinch-nailed. Hand split oak lath was nailed into the planking with hand wrought nails. A very crude base coat of plaster remains in place over this lath. This plaster is of a yellow orange color, appearing to consist mostly of clay with small lumps of lime and strands of grass. Over this base coat is a very thin coat of white finish plaster. In typical 18th century

fashion, the finish panelling and wood trim were installed before the plaster and served as a plaster ground.

The original wall plaster on the north and east walls has been removed and replaced with a higher quality plaster of lime, sand and animal hair. These areas were probably renewed in the late 19th century renovation. The south wall, which was totally rebuilt in 1836, retains plaster from that period. The evidence suggests that after the 1836 reconstruction, the corner cupboard remained in place, but the cornice and the dado panelling was removed and not reinstalled. During the later 19th century renovation, the cupboard was removed and new panelling and cornice were installed to unify the room's decorative scheme.(Plate 38) The door opening into the 1836 wing has a casing which is similar to that found in the region just after the Civil War, suggesting that the panelling and possibly even the door opening were installed around the third quarter of the 19th century.

The ceiling of Rm.101 was originally finished with plaster. The ceiling joists are rough sawn oak with no decorative edge bead. Behind the cornice on the west wall were found some 18th century hand split lath still attached to the underside of the joists. Since this area was always covered by the cornice, there was never any plaster applied over this lath. At some point during the 19th century, the

plaster and lath was removed and replaced with new plaster over sawn lath. A cast plaster ceiling medallion was installed in the center of the room. This appears to date the ceiling replacement to the second half of the 19th century.

In conclusion, three periods of construction are present in this space. (Figure 8) The original 18th century room with its panelled chimney breast, dado panelling and corner cupboard remains mostly intact. During the 1836 reconstruction the corner cupboard remained in place even though the entire south wall was removed and replaced. The dado panelling and wood cornice were absent from this wall until another renovation in the later 19th century when the corner cupboard was removed, new cornice and dado panelling was added to the south and west walls and the ceiling was given new plaster and a center medallion. The north and east walls were probably replastered during this later renovation as well.

Room 102:

While most of the original 18th century finishes and wood trim has been removed from this room, evidence survives to document most of its elements. Two of the more important elements found in Rm. 102 appear to be later additions. The beautiful cooking hearth with its raised hearth and cast iron oven door were inserted into the space at some time in the nineteenth century.(Plate 40) Numerous clues remain to show

that a corner fireplace originally existed in this location. The simply enclosed stair which rises against the south wall is also from the 19th century.(Plate 42) Severe water damage has obliterated much evidence which might have solved the questions surrounding the construction of this stair. A close examination of the surviving fabric suggests that all of the existing stair components date to the 1836 reconstruction, however the floor framing at all levels appears to have been originally constructed with the stair openings in place. No evidence has been discovered which conclusively demonstrates that a stairway was in place prior to the 1836 reconstruction.

The original flooring of Rm.102 survives beneath later floor of tongue and groove wood. On the ceiling, much early split lath survives along with its wrought nails. Most of this lath has been renailed with cut nails, indicating that the roughly surfaced ceiling plaster was applied to earlier lath.

On the west side of the partition separating Rm.101 and Rm.102 all of the plaster and lath have been removed. An examination of the stains left on the partition's planks by the plaster and lath reveals a number of clues. A wooden baseboard was originally in place as were a chair rail and cornice. Below the chair rail was lath and plaster.(Plate 44) Evidence shows that the baseboard and chair rail extended all the way to the south wall, running behind the 19th century

stair wall and into the space below the stair.(Plate 45) This suggests that no stair existed there originally or that an awkward condition existed wherein a small area of finished space existed behind the stair.

At the northeast corner of Rm.102, where all plaster and lath have been removed, evidence reveals the location of a corner cupboard.(Plate 46) This cupboard appears to have been in place until fairly recently, since only gypsum drywall had ever been applied over the marks of the wood members. The front of this cupboard was located in the large stone barn on the site, apparently having been discarded by the last owners during renovations of the 1950s.(Plates 47 & 48)

On the north wall of Rm.102 the door opening was originally the location of a window. The door appears to have been inserted during the late 19th century. A few other changes to Rm.102 probably occurred during this renovation. The fireplace was once again altered with the installation of a large cast hearth in front of the earlier raised hearth. A hole was cut into the chimney breast to accept a stove pipe and a large cast iron stove was probably installed. Across the room, the stair carriage was removed to allow access to the adjacent room in the 1836 wing. Prior to this change, it appears, there was no communication between the two sides of the house.

Second Floor Level:

The second floor currently contains fragments of walls from all of its major construction periods, including stud walls dating to the late 1960s.(Plate 52) All of the flooring on this floor dates to the original construction and has retained evidence of all of the original and later walls. The room designations will refer to the two original rooms as they were configured prior to 1836.

Room 201:

This room still retains its corner fireplace with brick paving in the hearth.(Plate 49) The wooden mantel is probably a 19th century addition. All of the plaster on the walls and ceiling has been replaced. Evidence shows that the ceiling was originally plastered and that a chair rail existed on the walls as remains in Rm.202.

The partition which originally separated the two rooms on this floor was removed by the last owner. It was probably constructed of vertical planks such as the partition on the first floor and covered with lath and plaster. Near the south wall, a doorway existed in this partition. A clear imprint remains on the floor documenting the profile of the door trim.(Plate 50)

Room 202:

The western half of the second floor appears to have originally been one large room, either with or without the stairway. Many later walls have been inserted into this space and subsequently removed. The 18th century flooring in Rm.202 has survived intact and in place. Unfortunately, around the stair opening, much of the wood has rotted. This has destroyed whatever evidence may have remained which related to the location of the stairway. The one clue which does remain is the way in which the floor boards are all neatly cut off near the framed floor opening.(Plate 53) It appears that this edge predates the current stair and was associated with some other construction. No other evidence could be seen, however, on the surviving framing, such as a post for a winding stair.

Other early fabric survives which, along with fragmentary evidence, describes the overall finish and design of this room. Above the plaster ceiling, the original joists remain. These joists are of smoothly finished poplar and have beaded lower corners. This treatment was commonly employed when the joists were left exposed. An investigation of the ends of these joists confirmed that the walls were finished with plaster between the joists.(Plate 57)

The corner fireplace survives in its original form with a three centered arch, notched jambs and brick hearth.(Plate

56) At the easternmost window, a lot of original fabric survives including the plastered square window jamb and the wooden sill along with its chair rail and molding.(Plate 52) Since this window is located in the center of the north gable wall, the large oak summer beam is supported directly above it. The location of this summer beam creates an awkward condition in the ceiling of this room. As was stated earlier, the ceiling joists of Rm.202 were smoothly finished and left exposed whereas the joists above Rm.201 were rough sawn oak and were covered with plaster. Since a portion of these rough sawn joists project into Rm.202, a portion of the room had plaster on the ceiling. In addition, the bottom and eastern surfaces of the summer beam were roughened and given a thin coat of fine white plaster. Some of this plaster is still in place.(Plate 58)

While the location of a partition is clearly visible dividing Rm.201 and Rm.202 dating to the 18th century, the only evidence for a corridor partition around the stair appears to date to the 19th century. This partition is still partially in place at the west wall, and it can be seen to abut the earlier plaster on this wall.(Plate 60) This beaded board wall is similar to the boarding enclosing the stair on the ground wall and was apparently removed during the mid-20th century renovations. A similarly constructed wall is also apparent running perpendicular to this wall, the effect of

which was to divide the remaining space of Rm.202 in two small chambers. This wall is associated with the ceiling plaster in the room and probably dates to the 1836 period.(Plate 61) During a later period, possibly the later 19th century, the wall was removed and the boards reused in the attic.(Plate 65)

On the eastern wall of Rm.202, all of the plaster finish has been removed up to the later corridor wall. The shadow of the original chair rail and baseboard are plainly evident. (Plate 56) In addition, some interesting wooden blocks are visible in the masonry. These were used as nailers for the wood trim and appear to be fragments of early molded oak framing.(Plate 62) A similar type of member can be seem in the Barnes Brinton House in Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania dating from the first quarter of the 18th century. At that house, the interior partitions are mostly of a type know as feather-edged boarding. At the location of a passage door, thick oak posts were used to stiffen both sides of the door and were molded to accept the edges of the feather edged boards. The profile of these posts were very similar to the oak blocks in the wall at the Pawling House.

Attic Level:

On the attic level of the house, very little original 18th century fabric remains in place. The roof framing appears to be original, however the collar ties have been raised to

provide a higher ceiling. The dormer windows are obviously from the 19th century.

The flooring was removed and replaced during one of the 19th century renovations. The central partition, dating from the 19th century was found to have been constructed from reused flooring. This flooring is planed on both sides and has beaded edges.(Plate 63) This type of floor would have been appropriate over the beaded and planed ceiling joists of Rm.202. Of course the actual boards could have come from the demolished side of the house as well.

Around the stair well, a simple open railing was boarded up with beaded boards. These boards probably came from the board wall which bisected Rm.202 after the 1836 reconstruction.(Plate 64)

The window frames appear to be earlier than any of the other surviving window frames, having integral moldings on the exterior and being made of oak. The brick chimney stacks may well predate the 19th century changes. A small area of brick infill behind the northeast chimney contained a few late 19th century glass bottles indicating a repair or renovation period.

Upper Attic Area:

The area above the attic floor ceiling is accessible and contains some interesting information. The rafters appear to be original, being of vertical sawn oak, with mortise and tenon joints.(Plate 67) A number of pieces of window jamb trim was found used as nailers behind the 19th century ceiling below. This trim is of a profile found almost exclusively during the last decade of the 18th century.(Plate 68) Its presence may relate to a renovation of the late 18th century or perhaps to a wing of the house constructed during that period and removed in 1836.

## Chapter 3
## Analysis of the Historical Significance of the House

In attempting to assess the historical significance of the surviving fabric of the Pawling House, some basic criteria must discussed. Quite simply, three questions must be satisfactorily covered:

1. Was the house standing at the time of the Revolutionary War Encampment of 1777-78?
2. Is there definitive evidence linking the house with the the encampment?
3. What was the configuration of the house in 1777 and how much of the house remains from this period?

These three questions, when considered together, neatly address the issue of the significance of the house.

### Relative Age of the House:

The first question which must be resolved concerns the age of the house. Quite simply, was it standing during the Revolutionary War Encampment of 1777-78? Since there is no surviving date stone and no explicit documentary evidence, a visual examination and appraisal will have to suffice. The remaining portion of the house contains many surviving features which, when taken in their entirety, provide a sufficient level of certainty as to the relative age of the house.

Assuming at this stage of the investigation that the house is only a portion of a once larger 18th century structure, one must avoid speculation as to a particular plan typology and examine the surviving plan elements. In general what remains of the 18th century house is a two-and-a-half-story over basement stone structure with two rooms on each floor and an enclosed stair. A large kitchen fireplace occupies the corner of Rm.102, but upon examination it appears to have originally been a corner fireplace similar to the others remaining in the house. The 18th century kitchen must have been located in the portion of the house now missing.

Plan Elements:

An extremely important feature in the design of the house is the use of corner fireplaces. All four of the fireplaces which originally existed in this section of the house were placed diagonally in a corner of the room.(Figures 8 & 9) In the three which survive, the overall configuration is common in houses built in this area during the second and third quarters of the 18th century. In Rm.101 the entire chimney breast is covered with heavy wood raised panelling.(Plate 9) No mantel shelf is present. The low stone arch appears original. In Rm. 201 and Rm.202 the fireplaces were simple affairs with no wood mantel or panelling.(Plates 49 & 56) Both of these fireplaces have the three centered arch and offset jamb detail which was typical of the first half of the 18th

century. Similar fireplaces survive at Independence Hall (1732), Stenton (1728) and Hope Lodge (1740s).[1] Such fireplaces continued to be constructed through the 1760s but their use seems to have been confined to kitchen wings, as in the Powell House (1762) or to small workers cottages such as at 126 Elfreth's Alley (1765).[2]

Another plan feature which is evident in the house is the corner cupboard. The house contained one in each of the first floor rooms. Each of these cupboards appear to have been built in place during the original construction of the house. This type of cupboard is a common feature in houses of the mid-18th century and the simple molding profiles would generally date them to the 1750s and 1760s.(Plate 47)

The enclosed stair is of no use in dating the house. The remaining fabric all appears to date to the 1836 reconstruction. While the openings framed into the floor joists appear to be original features, no traces of the original stair have been found.

Exterior Design

One of the most intriguing elements in the original configuration of the house concerns the treatment of the gable-end facade. While this subject was treated more fully in Chapter 2, it is worth noting here that the primary facade

of almost all rural 18th century houses occurred on one of the non-gabled faces.(Plate 79) The non-gabled facade was generally wider and contained the entry into a hall or into one of the principal reception rooms. At the Pawling house, the surviving gable end contains numerous details typically reserved for the primary facade. The treatment of the stone masonry is significantly different on the gable end from the two other sides.(Plate 15) The stones are dressed and laid in regular courses and pointed with a well executed ribbon pointing. By contract, the side walls are faced with rough irregular stones, laid up with wide joints and pointed with a simpler ridge pointing. This technique was similarly used in such houses as Moore Hall ca. 1730, Mill Grove ca. 1762, Varnum's Quarters ca. 1718, the Isaac Potts House at Valley Forge ca. 1760 and on the Muhlenburg house in Trappe ca. 1763. The crude quality of the masonry on the sides of the house suggest an early date of construction when compared with such nearby houses as the Isaac Potts House and Mill Grove. At these structures of comparable quality, the masonry of the secondary facades is of generally high quality, with tight fitting joints and regularly sized and spaced stones.

Other features of the gable end include the use of stone segmented arches over the basement doorway and window openings and over the two large windows of the first floor flanking the central door.(Plate 16) Similar arches can be seen on Moore

Hall ca. 1730, Waynesborough ca. 1742 and on Varnum's Quarters ca 1718.

A wide cantilevered hood existed over the central door and a pent eave created a pediment in the gable. A similar hood exists at Waynesborough, the home of Anthony Wayne. Finally, the location of the chimneys at the outer corners of the north facade of the Pawling house gives the house a rather grand scale.

On the east facade, a pent roof ran across above the first floor windows. This type of roof was a common feature in houses during the first half of the 18th century and can be found on such early houses as Varnum's Quarters ca. 1718 and at the John Chadd House ca. 1724.

Architectural Details:

Sufficient building fabric survives to document such details as door and window frames, panel profiles, wainscoting and chair rail locations and profiles, door and cupboard hinges.

The original front door assembly appears to have survived totally intact. The wood frame is shaped from single oak members with no applied moldings.(Plate 20) Its profile, with shallow ogees and beaded door stop, is correct for a building

built around the middle of the 18th century. It appears to have been constructed with a transom for glazing, but this feature must have been removed during the construction since the full height door appears original.(Plate 21) The door has simple raised panels on the exterior face, and an inner face of vertical flush boards. The panel profiles match the dado panelling in Rm.101. The simple ovolo of the panel margin is typical of doors constructed throughout the 18th century until the Revolution.[3] After the War this detail was almost universally superceded by a quirked ovolo or an ogee.[4] The Deweese/Potts Bakehouse in Valley Forge, heavily damaged during the war, was totally reconstructed during the 1780s using the later detail on new doors and panelling.

The entry door hangs on large wrought iron strap hinges with the pintel driven into the massive frame. The outline of a large wrought Suffolk latch is visible on the exterior face of the door.(Plate 21).

The woodwork of Rm. 101 remains generally intact. The molding profiles of the dado panelling and the chimney breast reveal the same simple ovolo in the margin and massive raised panels of the front door. The deep wood crown molding adds to the heavy quality of the panelling giving the room a much earlier feel than buildings such as the Isaac Potts House ca. 1760, just across the Schuylkill River. Most houses with

similar surviving panelling show a certain degree of refinement to the detailing.(Plate 78) At the Pawling house, many of the joints and corners appear unresolved and clumsy, especially when contrasted with the quality of the moldings themselves.(Plate 35) It is worth pointing out here that the Pawling family were relatively wealthy, with large holdings of rich land. If the house had been built during the same period of time as the Isaac Potts House, one would expect a similar level of refinement in the detailing of spaces such as Rm.101. The boldness of the overall design and the crudeness of the details suggests a construction date in the first half of the 18th century.

The profile of the chair rail, which survives in Rm.101 as well as in Rm.202, is of a shape common throughout the second and third quarters of the 18th century. Evidence on the walls shows that a chair rail existed in all of the rooms on the first and second floors. In typical mid-18th century fashion, the chair rail ran directly under the windows of the second floor, lining up with both the window sill and the window apron.(Plate 52)

One window in Rm.202 retains its original jamb configuration. The deeply recessed window openings were simply plastered back to the wood window frame and stop. The corners of the head and jamb were simply a right angle of plaster with

no wood trim.(Plate 52) This would suggest a mid-18th century date of construction.

One final detail worthy of mention is the design of the hinges found in the house. The front door has massive, simply detailed wrought iron strap hinges hung from wrought pintels. The passage door between Rm.101 and Rm.102 was similarly hung from strap hinges. The remaining corner cupboard retains its simple HL wrought iron hinges.(Plate 48) Both of these hinge types were generally superceded after the Revolutionary War by cast iron hinges.[5]

Construction Materials:

While the basic materials used in dwelling house construction in this area did not drastically change after the Revolutionary War, some of the details of their manufacture evolved continuously through the late 18th and early 19th century.

The stone masonry of the house was laid in rather crude clay and lime bedding mortar. The outer joints were then sealed with a lime putty and sand pointing mortar.(Plate 15) The interior wall surfaces were covered with a rough coat of plaster made of clay, lime and grass. Over this rough coat was then applied a thin coat of finish plaster. Both coats of interior plaster were applied after all finish wood trim had

been installed. After the Rev War, the lime production industry in this vicinity grew rapidly, producing and shipping tremendous quantities of lime. The quality of the plaster used in the local houses greatly improved as well and later houses tend to have more lime and sand in the base coats. The crude quality of the Pawling plaster suggests an 18th century construction date.

Where early plaster and lath remain in the house, the lath is always found to be hand-split of oak fastened with small hand wrought lath nails. No early cut nails were found associated with the early plaster and lath.

Conclusion:

It was assumed that some evidence of a building campaign dating from 1792-1810 would have been found. This would coincide with a change in ownership in 1792. This was not the case however. No early cut nails were found at all. Except for the early clay, lime and grass plaster, all of the plaster appears to date from either the 1830s or from the last quarter of the 19th century. With the exception of a few pieces of 1790s window jamb molding found reused as plaster lath backing, (Plate 68) there was a total lack of obviously late 18th and early 19th century building fabric. This contrasts sharply with the wealth of mid-18th century details still surviving. This lends credence to the pre-Revolutionary War

date of original construction, since any construction done during the last decade of the 18th century would contain some combination of early cut nails, wrought nails, cast iron hinges and early Federal Period moldings.

It is possible that some changes were made to the house during the later years of Henry Pawling (III)'s life or during the decade which preceded the 1836 reconstruction. However, the physical evidence which has been uncovered appears to relate to only three periods of construction: the original construction, the 1836 reconstruction and alterations done around 1880.

The total consistency in building fabric and details leads to the conclusion that the remaining portion of the 18th century house dates from a single building campaign and was indeed constructed prior to the Revolutionary War encampment of 1777-78.

Is there definitive evidence linking the house with the Encampment?

The winter encampment of Washington's Continental Army at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-78 remains one of the premier chapters in American history. The hardship and suffering of the troops and the near collapse of the army are deeply imbedded in the American conscience. Numerous books and

studies have been written to describe this ordeal and to attempt to explain its causes and its eventual outcome. One of the more important and, unfortunately, least understood aspects of the encampment was the structure and operation of the Commissary Department of the Army. During the months preceding the winter encampment at Valley Forge, the command and operational structure of the Commissary Department underwent a constant evolution as officers were replaced and commands reorganized.[6] By the time the winter cold had enveloped the camp, essential supplies of food had reached intolerably low levels. Eventually, these shortages were corrected and the Army was able to feed and clothe its troops.

The locations of the various offices and storage depots in and around the Valley Forge encampment has never been fully discovered, however, many assertions have been made by earlier historians. The location of the Pawling farm, directly across the Schuykill River from the encampment, would have offered a useful location on which to store and process livestock and foodstuffs.

In a book about the encampment written in the 1950s, Edward Pinkowski describes in some detail the operations of Colonel Ephraim Blaine, Assistant Commissary General of Purchases and his various assistants. The Pawling house at Walnut Hill is alleged to have been the offices for this

operation. Pinkowski refers to numerous letters which were written and received at this house during the encampment, but gives no references as to their location. The most trustworthy information can be found on the original documents, when they can be located.

One letter has been found which gives a very small glimpse into this operation. It was written by Ephraim Blaine in late February, 1778.

> Pawling Ford 22d Feb'y 1778
>
> Dear White,
>
> Am order'd by his Excellency Gen'l Washington and Committee of Congress on a tour of four Hundred Miles. Congress is very Pressing of a statement of our Acct--as soon as you arrive here you will begin to regulate my Acc'ts, take Possession of two Rooms in old Mr. Pawlings and so soon as the Bridge is finished move there, the first thing is to regulate the Acc'ts, the Cattle delivered to the sundry Divisions, Brigades, and Detachments of the Army this done and as soon as you receive a regular sett of Books from me, you will prepare them for opening proper Acc'ts against each purchaser--these books will forward to you by very first opportunity and am D'r Sir
>
> Your Hble Serv't,
>
> Mr White. Eph. Blaine.
>
> N.B.Mr Chaspyon is engaged to assist me.[7]

As was discussed in Chapter 1, this letter is quite telling when combined with other known facts. There was indeed a Pawling house located at Pawling Ford, owned and occupied by John Pawling as early as 1774.[8] This site must have been pressed into service by the Commissary Department as well. Old Mr. Pawling is undoubtedly Henry Pawling (II) who was then 65

years old. The reference to the bridge is also an important clue. General Sullivan's brigade was then at work constructing a wooden bridge across the Schuykill at Fatland Ford. This bridge was largely finished by the end of February and provided the Army with a reliable means of crossing the river. The house at Walnut Hill would have been much closer to this crossing than John's house at Pawling Ford.

The importance of Sullivan's Bridge is evident in another letter written by Thomas Jones, another Commissary officer, on February 15, 1778. Jones had been called to Headquarters to answer charges from several general officers concerning the scarcity of supplies.

> Brought all my Books to Head Quarters had to stand the Charge of several gen.l officers & their Com'ys however all the Brigade Comm'ys. except Steenbergen on being asked how their troops were serv.d with flour and Bread answered they did not want for that article, Steenbergen suffer.d his men to go 3 Days without flour & never made Application as he had no Waggons & when he got them afterw.ds the flour this side of the river was all gone we had 242 barrels over at Pawlings But there was no getting it accross their Waggons could not cross. no boats to take Mr. Steenbergen on seeing there was no flour never mention.d his People wanting or Else would serve them with Biscuit.[9]

A reference to the Pawling property also appears in a brief passage from the records of General Orders, issued from Headquarters on June 15, 1778.

> The Auditor's Office is removed to Mr. Pawling's the other side Schulkill near the Bridge.[10]

Other references to the Pawlings have been found which describe the use of their land and purchase of their food. On January 26, 1778, Nathan Pawling sold 5 barrels of flour to the Army and on February 12, 1778, Henry Pawling sold 574 weight of beef.[11] In a return dated April, 1778, and signed by Clement Biddle, are listed the owners of various wheat fields and meadows assigned to the Army's divisions. These fields are presumed to have been used to graze horses. One entry reads:

> Divisions: Major Genl DeKalb. Brigades: B G Patterson, B G Learned. Forage Masters: William Rhea, Simeon Lord, Number of waggons and Riding Horses: 40. Fields and Meadows alloted: Mr Pawling, 18 acres wheat, a qrs of rye to be fenced off 34 meadow.[12]

While hundreds of pages of contemporary documents have survived from the encampment, few offer any clues to help pinpoint the sites of the various operations. The few references to the Pawling lands are, however, reasonably specific and offer some confirmation to the oral histories.

## What was the configuration of the house in 1777 and how much of the house remains from this period?

This chapter represents the most difficult challenges facing the researcher. While a significant amount of early fabric survives in the remaining portion of the 18th century house, all traces of the other portions of the house have been entirely erased. During the massive reconstruction of 1836

approximately half of the house was totally replaced with the enormous addition. The only evidence from which to reconstruct even a vague idea of the 18th century design of the house comes from a few shreds of archival descriptions carefully compared with the surviving fabric in the north end.

Starting Point:

The logical point from which to start this inquiry is an analysis of the known facts. The house itself presents an obviously incomplete set of facts concerning its design. The archival sources, while somewhat vague, give up some important clues which can be compared with the surviving fabric of the house and with other local houses. Some general patterns emerge from which a good educated guess can be made.

1798 Window Pane Tax:

The most intriguing piece of archival evidence is the description of the house found in the tax rolls of the 1798 "Window Pane Tax".[13] The house is described as being two-stories, 30 feet by 45 feet, built of stone, and having six windows with twenty-four panes and 13 windows with fifteen panes.

It is important to read between the lines of this tax ledger. In comparing the other houses covered in the tax, it should be noted that kitchens are frequently mentioned, often

in a different material from the associated house. Since no kitchen was mentioned, it can be inferred that the kitchen in the Pawling house was integral with the main body of the house in 1798. This does not mean, of course, that this was the case in 1777. At the time of the encampment, the house may well have been larger and more complex than is evident from the 1798 description. As was speculated in Chapter 1, the surviving structure could have been an addition to the earlier house of Henry Pawling (I). After Henry Pawling (III) inherited the house in 1792, he could have removed an early wing containing the kitchen.

Similarly, the entries for the number of windows and the number of window lites must be regarded with some caution. The surviving window sash, which probably date to the 1836 renovation, are of 9 over 9 and 6 over 9 configuration. The tax roll lists the Pawling house as having a combination of 24 lite and 15 lite windows. It is obvious that 24 lite and 15 lite windows are not generally found to be compatible on the same house. The discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the tax ledger itself is a compilation of records which the tax assessor collected on site. His field notes were then neatly entered into the official tax lists. Some mistakes were obviously made during this transcription. In Chester County, for example, the original field notes have survived for some townships and can be compared with the official tax lists.

When approached from this perspective, the tax survey for the Pawling house may contain much useful information. It is likely that the dimensions given for the house are close to correct. The number of windows is also probably close to the actual number, while the numbers listed for the lites is problematic. It is likely that the 18 and 12 lite windows were simply mislabelled as 24 and 15 lite windows.

Combining the tax roll data with the surviving fabric, one can construct a rough idea of the likely plan type. Since the surviving portion of the house is at least half the size of the house of 1798 and includes an original central basement wall, a center hall plan seem very unlikely. The portion which was removed was approximately the same size as the remaining portion, and contained relatively few windows. A three room plan with a four bay elevation seems to be a likely model for the Pawling house, with some individual flourishes added.

A similar plan appears to have been the original configuration of the Jimmy White House in Valley Forge National Historical Park.(Figure 13) There the primary facade is on a more typical eave side of the house. A four bay facade fronts the road, with the door giving access to a large kitchen room running front to back.(Plates 80-82) Next to this kitchen are a parlor and dining room, each well finished with a fully panelled fireplace wall. Interestingly, a small

passage between the chimneys connects these rooms to an exterior doorway located on the gable end. A similar door exists at the nearby Isaac Potts house. These were either garden doors or allowed for the use of one of the rooms as an office.

The location of the large central oak post supporting the summer beam above the second floor of the Pawling House adds some credence to this theory. This post is mortised into the summer beams on both floors and so dates to the original construction. It is located at the approximate center of the house as described in 1798. If the house originally had a center or side hall, this post would not have been well located.

The other archival evidence which must be considered is the newspaper advertisement of 1826. The house is therein described as containing four rooms on a floor with an entry through. It is plausible that during the first quarter of the 19th century the three-room plan was altered. The relocation of the kitchen fireplace to Rm.102 would have opened up the original kitchen room, allowing for its subdivision into a passage and two rooms. This end of the house would seem to have offered more sunlight and more pleasing views than the original northern gabled end. There is some evidence to support this scenario. The plaster ceiling of Rm.102 is a 19th

century plaster applied over renailed 18th century lath. This plaster appears to date to the same construction campaign as the corner stairway. However, above the brick chimney breast, the early yellow clay and grass plaster is still in place. This suggests that the fireplace was rebuilt before the major alteration of 1836 when the stair was reconstructed.

Patterns of Development of Nearby Houses:

A number houses survive in Valley Forge National Historical Park wherein an early colonial house underwent periodic enlargement and improvement. The development of the Pawling house may have been comparable to one of these houses.

The house known as Lord Stirling's Quarters is a small rambling 18th century farmhouse at the southwestern corner of Valley Forge National Historical Park.(Plate 79) During the encampment, the farm was owned and occupied by the Reverend Currie, the vocal minister of St. David's Church in the Great Valley. The house currently exhibits three distinct phases of construction.(Figure 14) The earliest structure, built during the first half of the 18th century, was a small one-and-one-half or two-story stone house with one room on each floor and no cellar. A small enclosed winder stair rose next to the large cooking fireplace. During the 1760s a large addition was added which consisted of a 2 story stone structure over a full

cellar. This section had two rooms on each floor, a small winder stair from basement to attic and corner fireplaces. Presumably, this was the configuration of the house in 1777. During the early 19th century, another two story wing was added to the east containing a new kitchen room over a basement. Again, a small winder stair ran from basement to top floor. This house appears to retain each of its building sections relatively intact.

The house known as Lafayette's Quarters was the home of Samuel Havard in 1777. When Samuel Havard inherited this farm from his father in 1763, it included a two room cottage. He soon thereafter add a large stone addition to this house in a manner not unlike the addition at Stirling's Quarters. Havard's new addition had two rooms on each floor, a stair rising from the cellar to the garret and corner fireplaces.

During the first quarter of the 19th century, an addition to the east added a new kitchen. In 1839, another addition obliterated the original house, totally erasing it. Other building campaigns removed the early 19th century kitchen and added more space to the western end. During a restoration carried out in 1979, it was discovered that the entire east gable wall of the earliest house had been incorporated into the west gable wall of the 1763 addition and had survived the removal of the early house. This early wall survives, much

like early party walls in an urban setting.

It is possible that the Pawling house underwent a process of evolution similar to these two houses. If the house contained a very old and deteriorated section in 1836, it is likely that that portion would have been removed in a major reconstruction. It would also be likely that the remaining evidence would be difficult to understand, given the total removal of an earlier phase of construction.

It is also important to remember that it is quite possible that the house underwent a significant renovation during the late 18th or early 19th century. During such a renovation, an early structure could have been removed from the structure which still stands, and replaced with a structure which was subsequently removed in 1836. A scenario such as this could explain the appearance of a central hallway by 1826.

In summary, the only plausible conclusion which can be reached with the available evidence is that about half of the structure which was standing in 1777 has been removed and that insufficient evidence has been discovered, either physical or documentary, from which to reconstruct it. As it now stands, the house contains significant building fabric from each of its construction periods and offers a rare opportunity for

interpretation of building construction.

In addition to its Revolutionary War associations, the house contributes greatly to the 19th century farm landscape which survives relatively intact. Any plan for stabilization, repair and interpretation should respect the fact that the site represents a layering of many centuries of use and history.

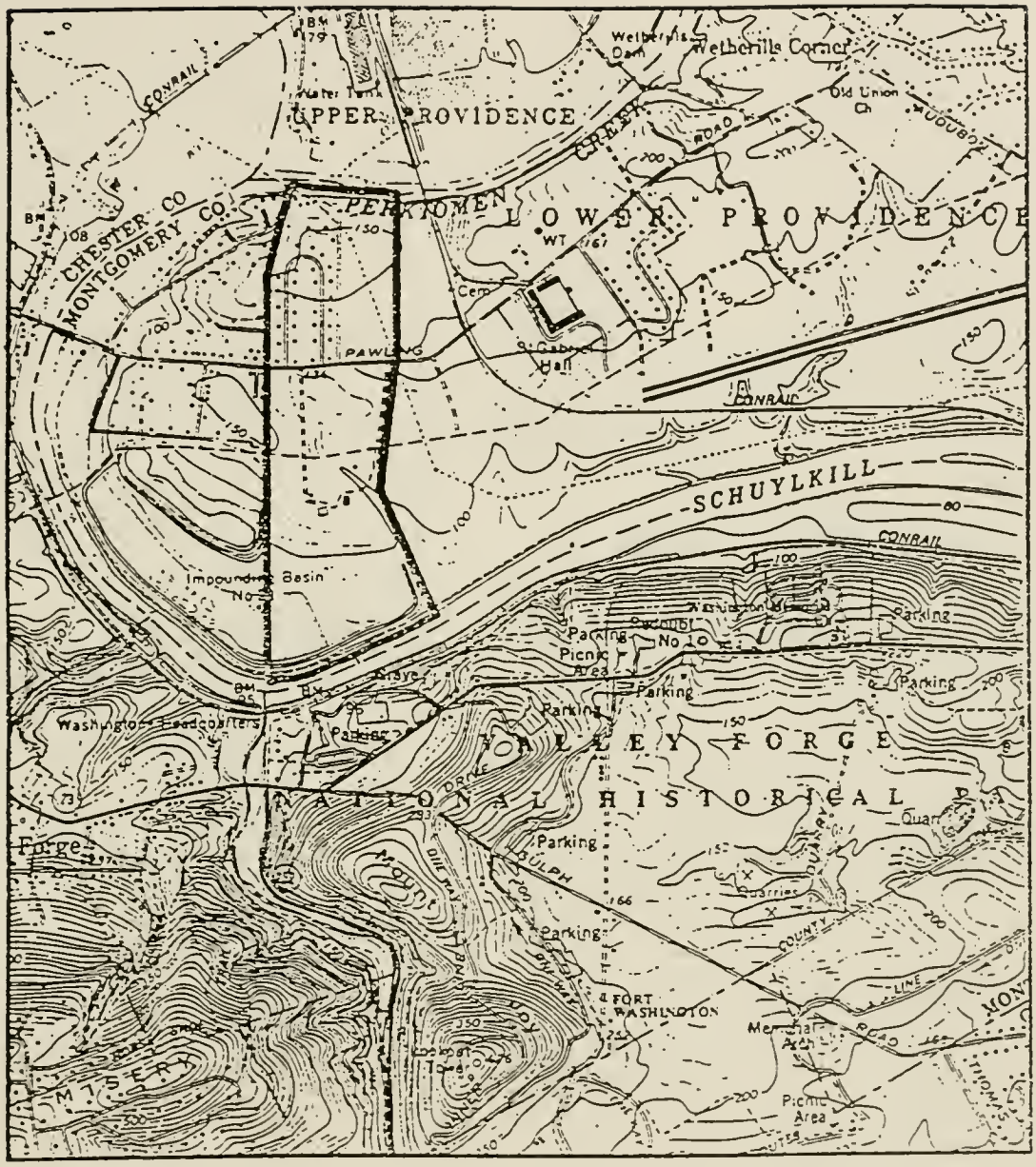



Figure 1: USGS topographic survey map showing the location of the Walnut Hill estate. James E. Kurtz, "Archaeological Survey and Assessment: North of the Schuykill River," (Draft), National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, 1988.

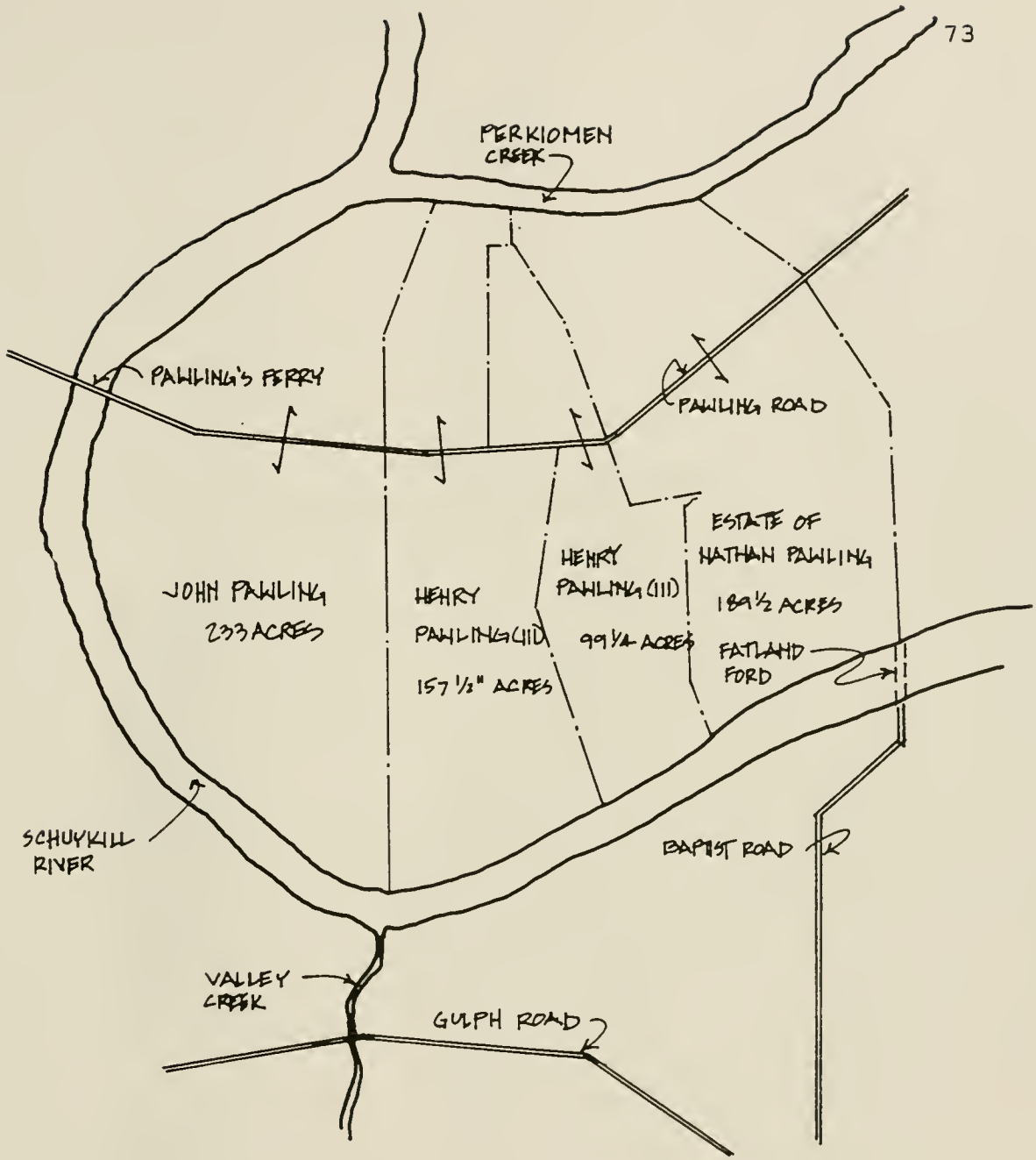



Figure 2: Map of the Pawling Property, circa 1798. Mark Frazier Lloyd, "Documentation of Historic Structures at 'Fatlands Farm' and Walnut Hill'," report prepared for Valley Forge National Historical Park, (Unpublished), Valley Forge, PA, 1985.

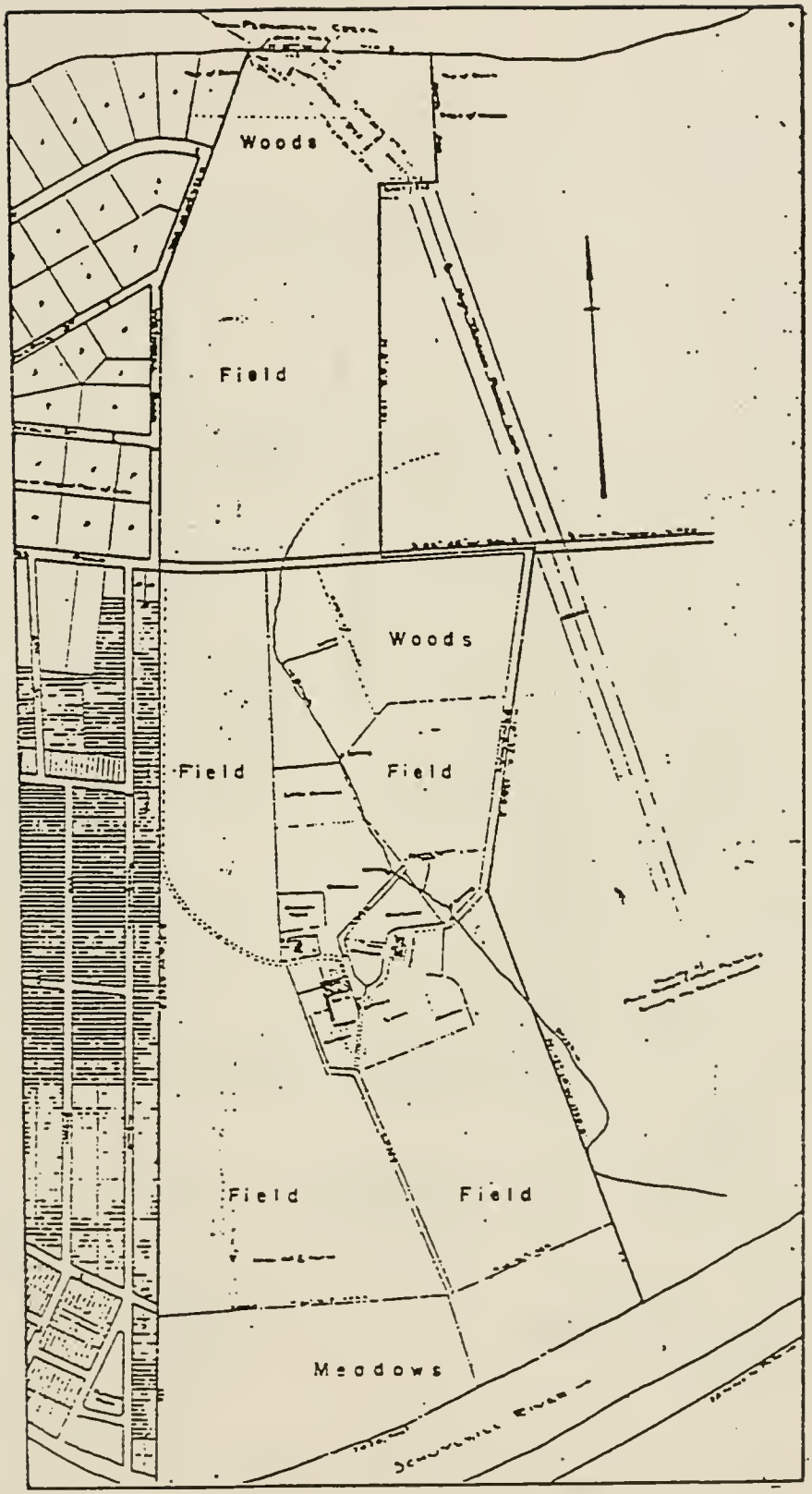



Figure 3: Survey of the Walnut Hill Estate, 1929, Valley Forge National Historical Park Archive.

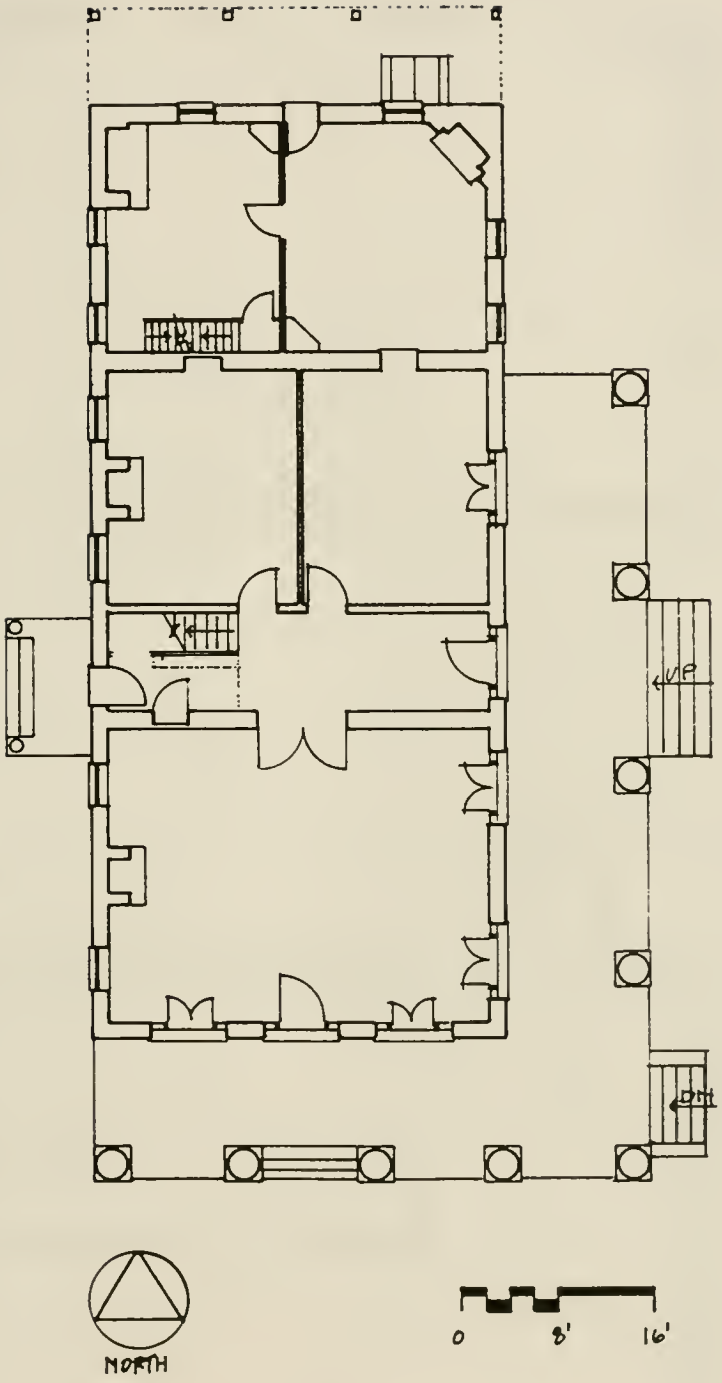



Figure 4: First floor plan of the Walnut Hill Mansion. Craig Morrison, "List of Classified Structures Enhancement, Walnut Hill Estate," report prepared for Valley Forge National Historical Park, (unpublished), Valley Forge, PA, 1987.

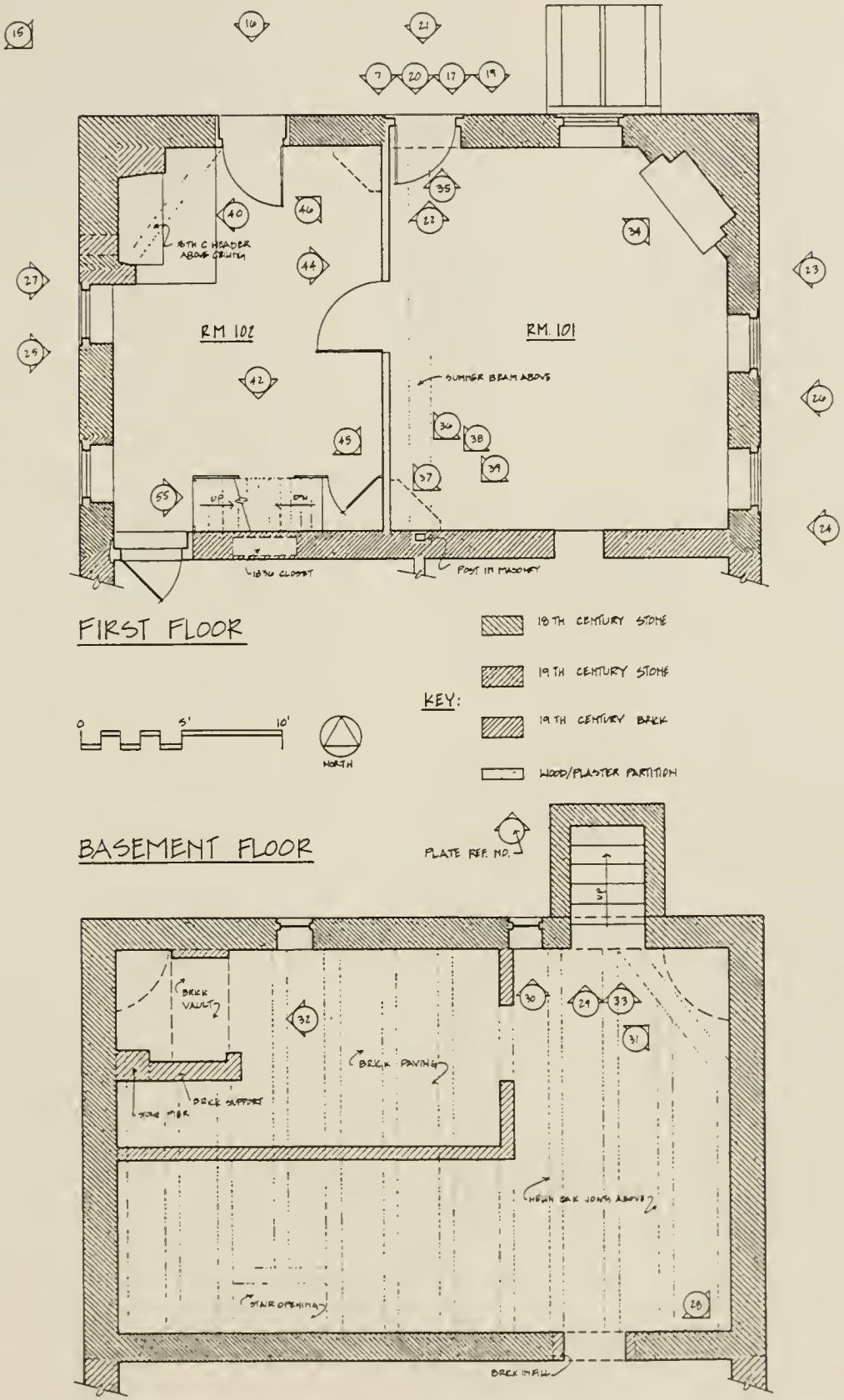



Fig. 5: Cellar and first floor plans of the Pawling House documenting evidence and keyed to plates. By author, 1992.

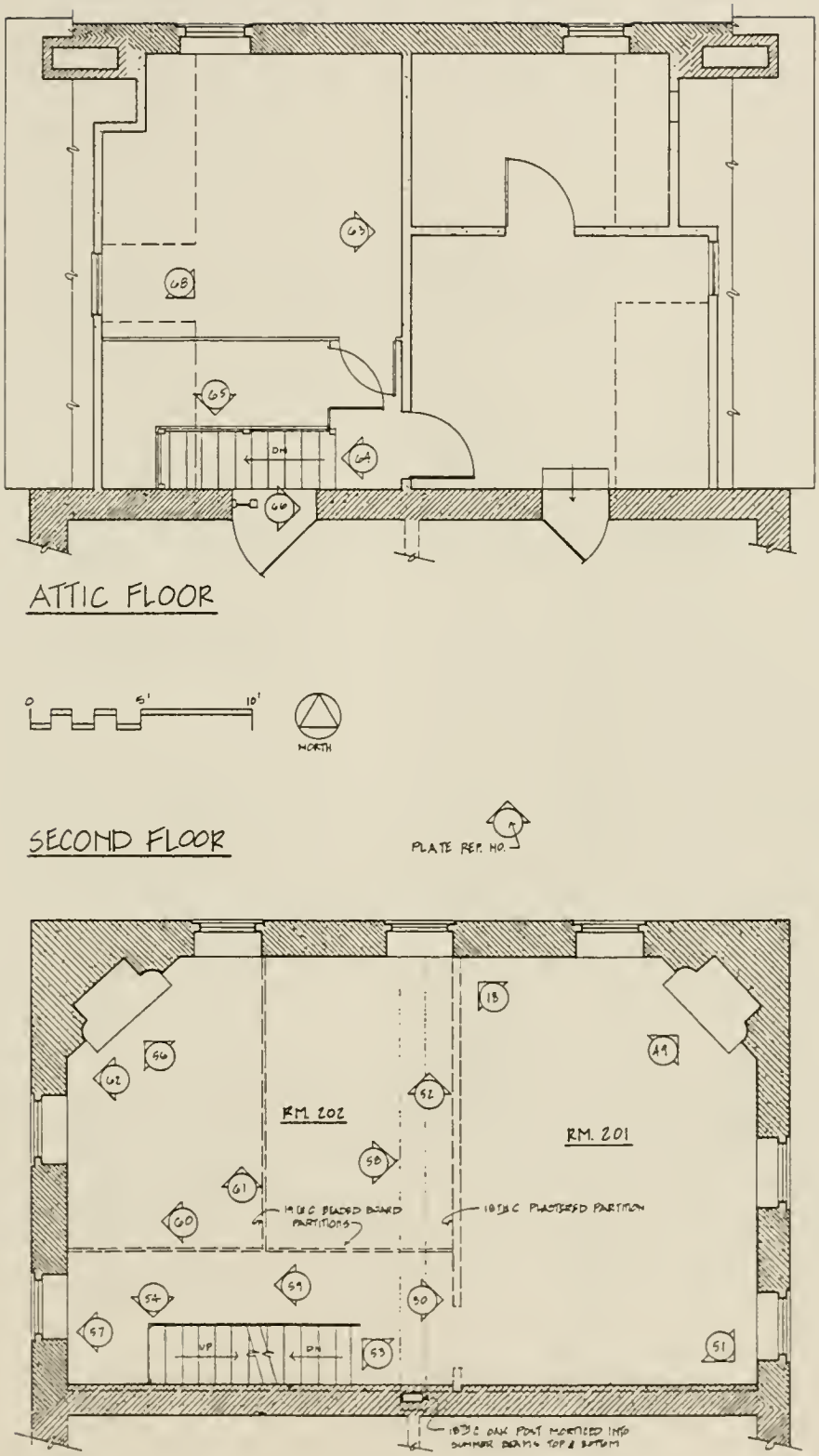
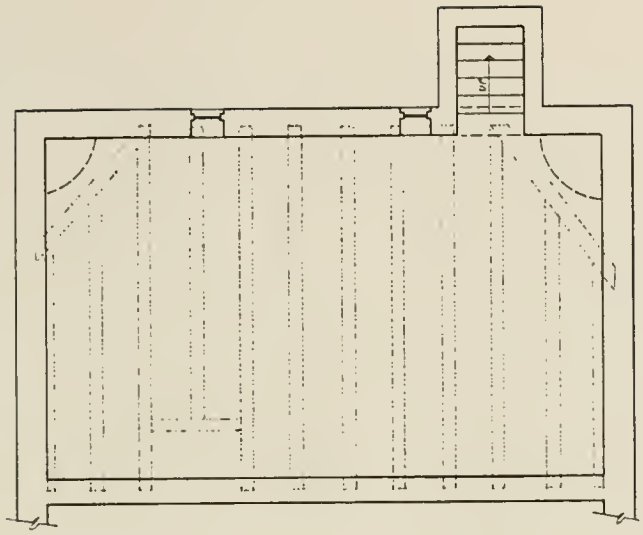
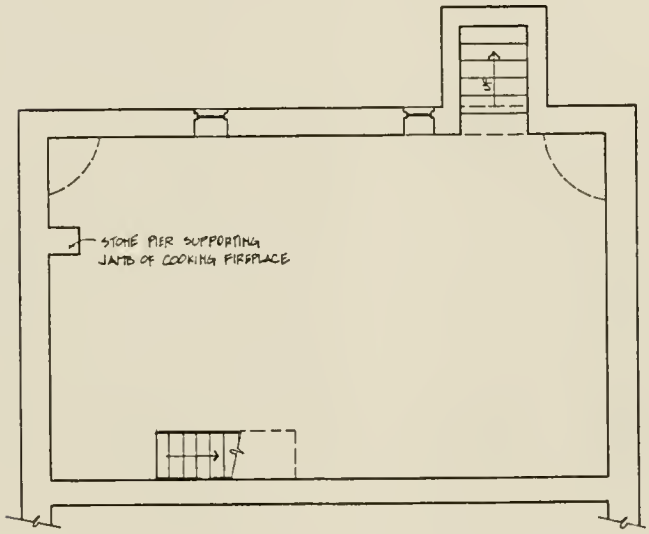


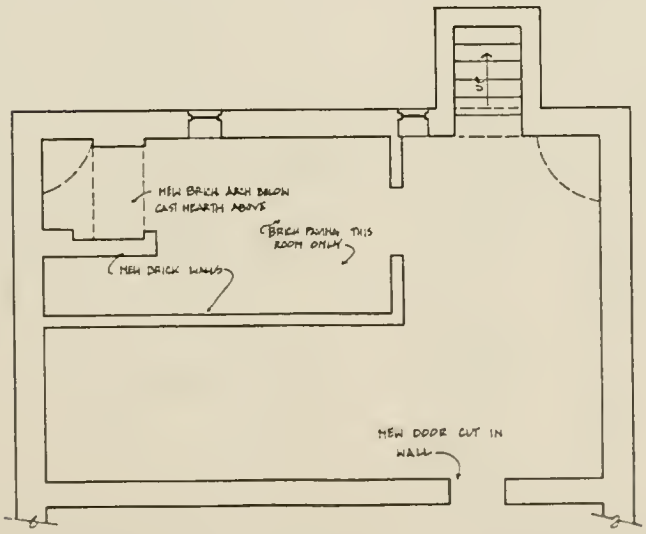

Fig. 6: Second and attic floor plans of the Pawling House documenting evidence and keyed to plates. By author, 1992.



CELLAR FLOOR
CA. 1777




CELLAR FLOOR
CA. 1836




CELLAR FLOOR
CA. 1880

Fig. 7: Conjectural plans of cellar floor of the Pawling House, circa 1777, 1836 and 1880. By author, 1992.

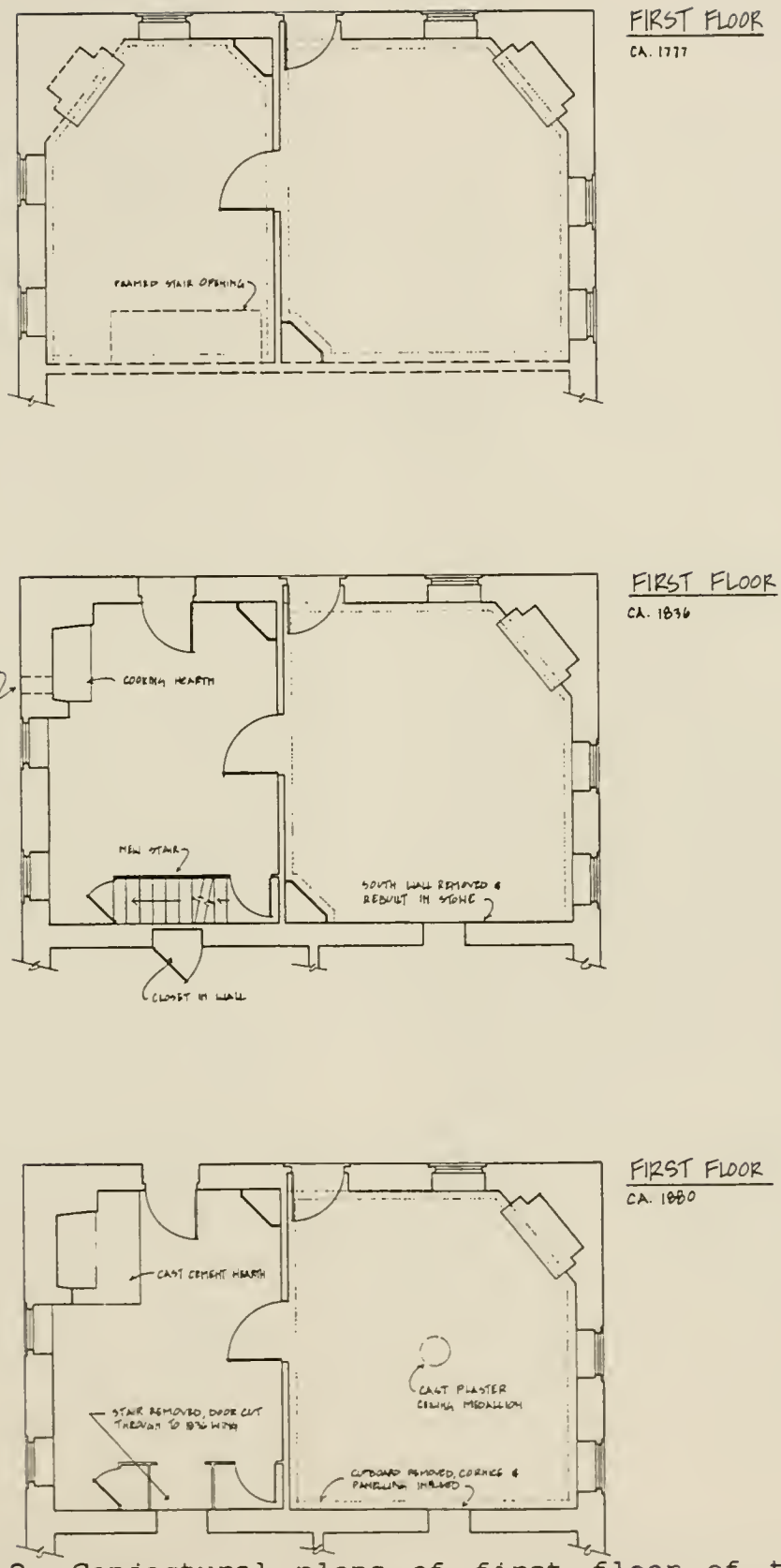
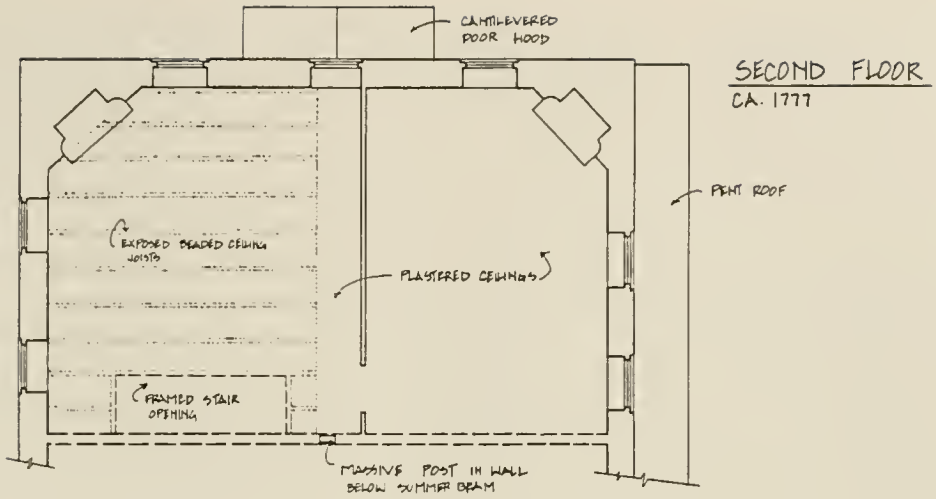
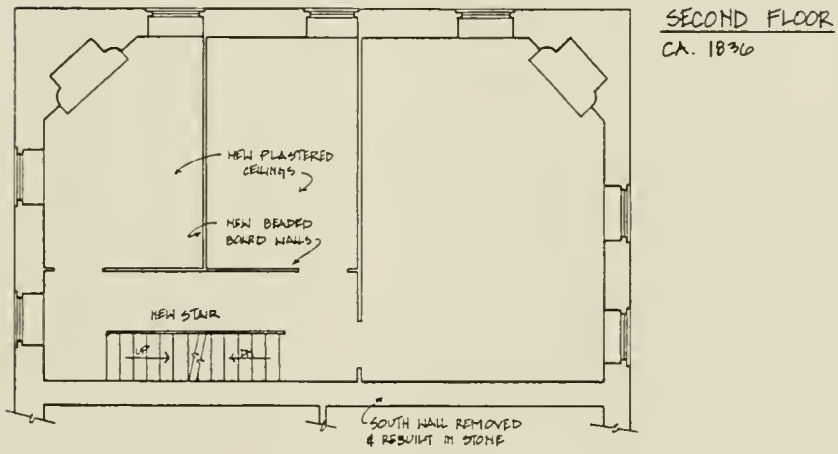



**Fig. 8**: Conjectural plans of first floor of the Pawling House, circa 1777, 1836 and 1880. By author, 1992.



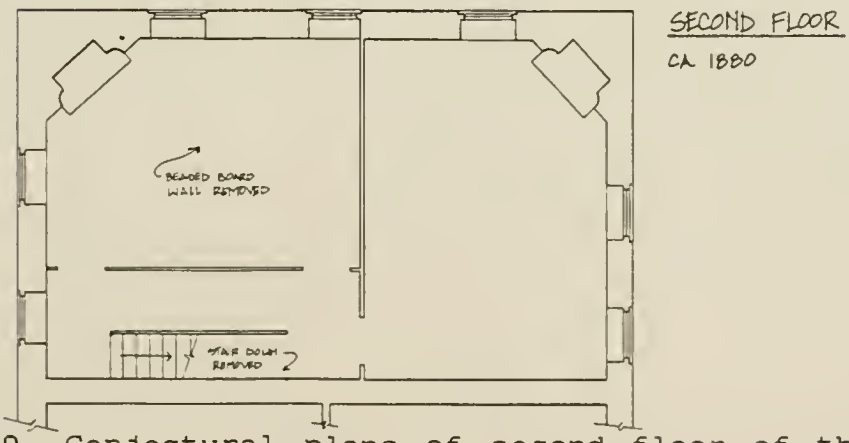
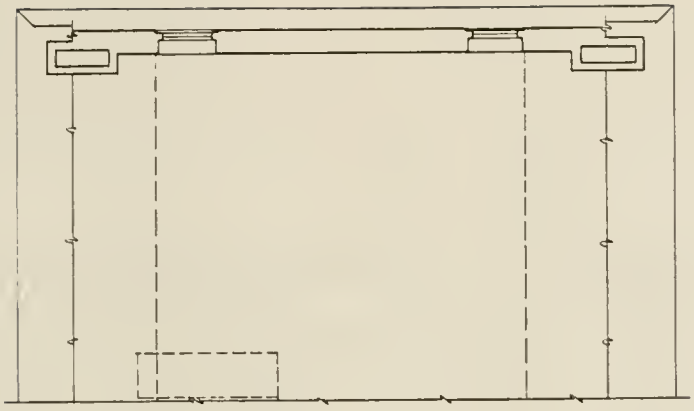
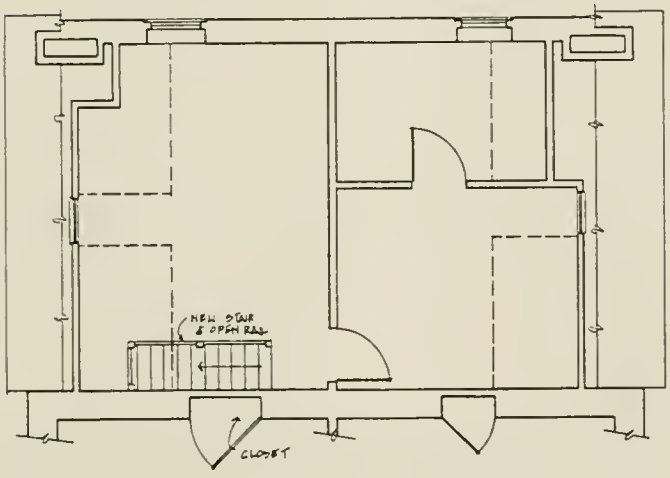



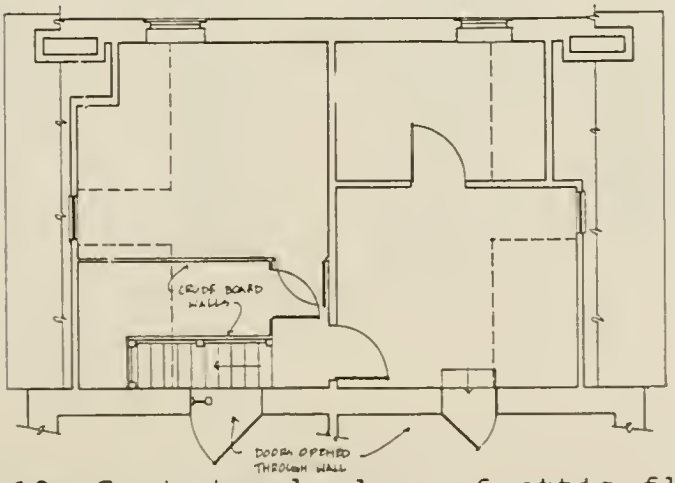

Fig. 9: Conjectural plans of second floor of the Pawling House, circa 1777, 1836 and 1880. By author, 1992.



ATTIC FLOOR
CA. 1777

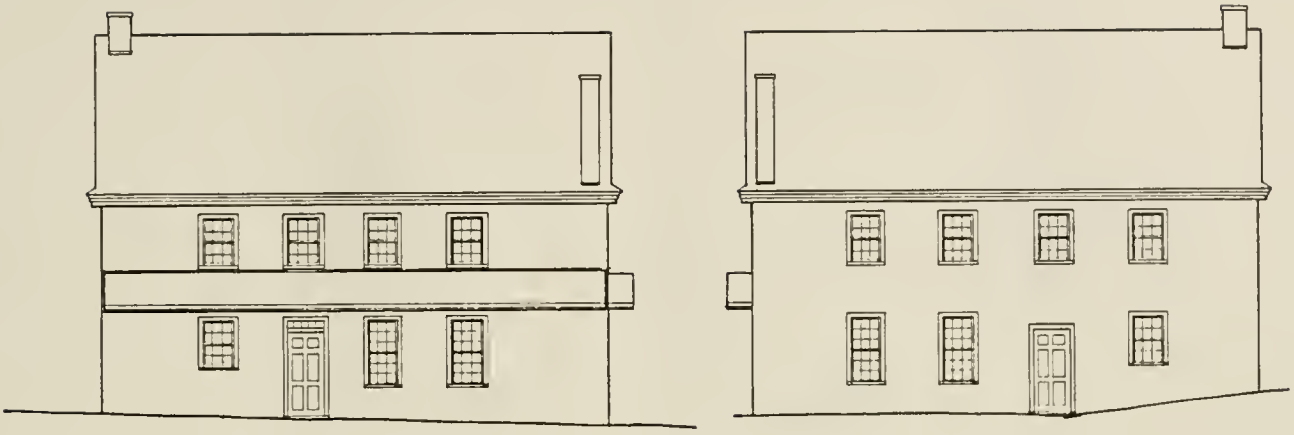



ATTIC FLOOR
CA. 1836




ATTIC FLOOR
CA. 1880

Fig. 10: Conjectural plans of attic floor of the Pawling House, circa 1777, 1836 and 1880. By author, 1992.



EAST ELEVATION

WEST ELEVATION

NORTH ELEVATION

Fig. 11: Conjectural elevations of the Pawling House, circa 1760. Drawn by author, 1992.

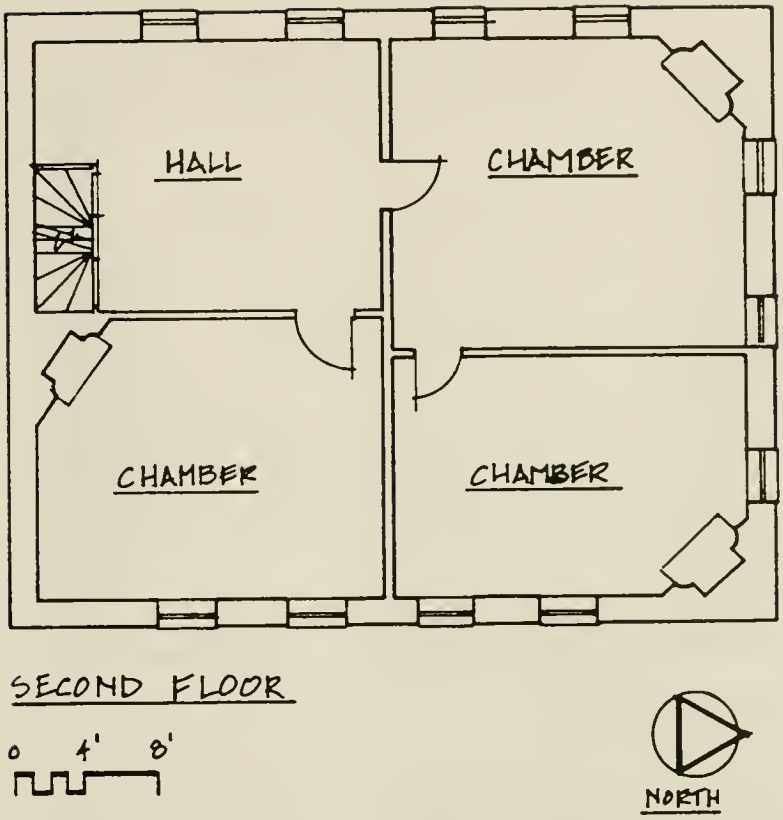



Figure 12: Conjectural floor plans of the Pawling House, circa 1760. Drawn by author, 1992.

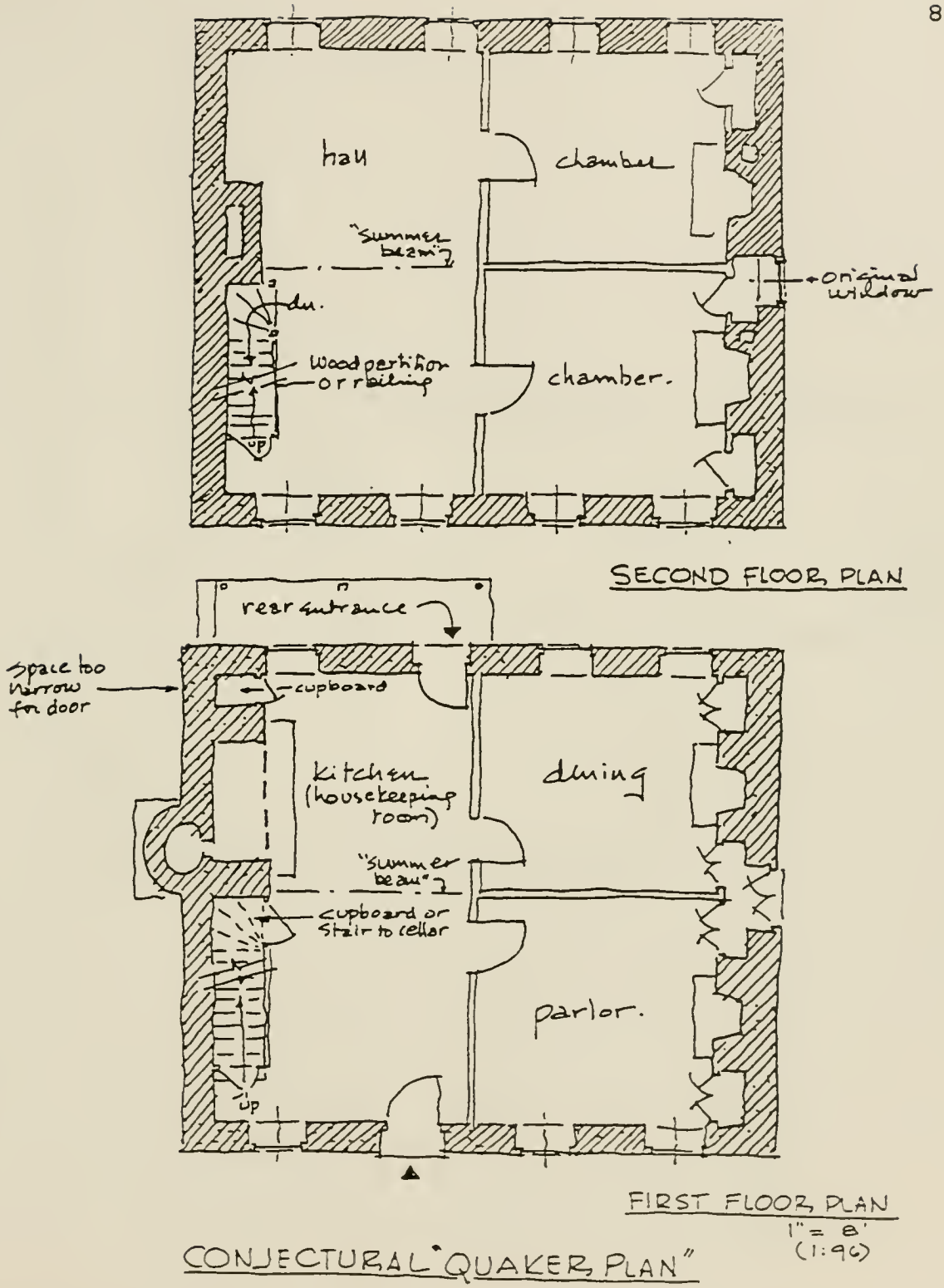



Figure 13: Conjectural floor plans for the Jimmy White House, circa 1760, Valley Forge, PA. John B. Dodd, "Historic Structure Report, Part 4, Architectural Data: Jimmy White House," National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, 1981.

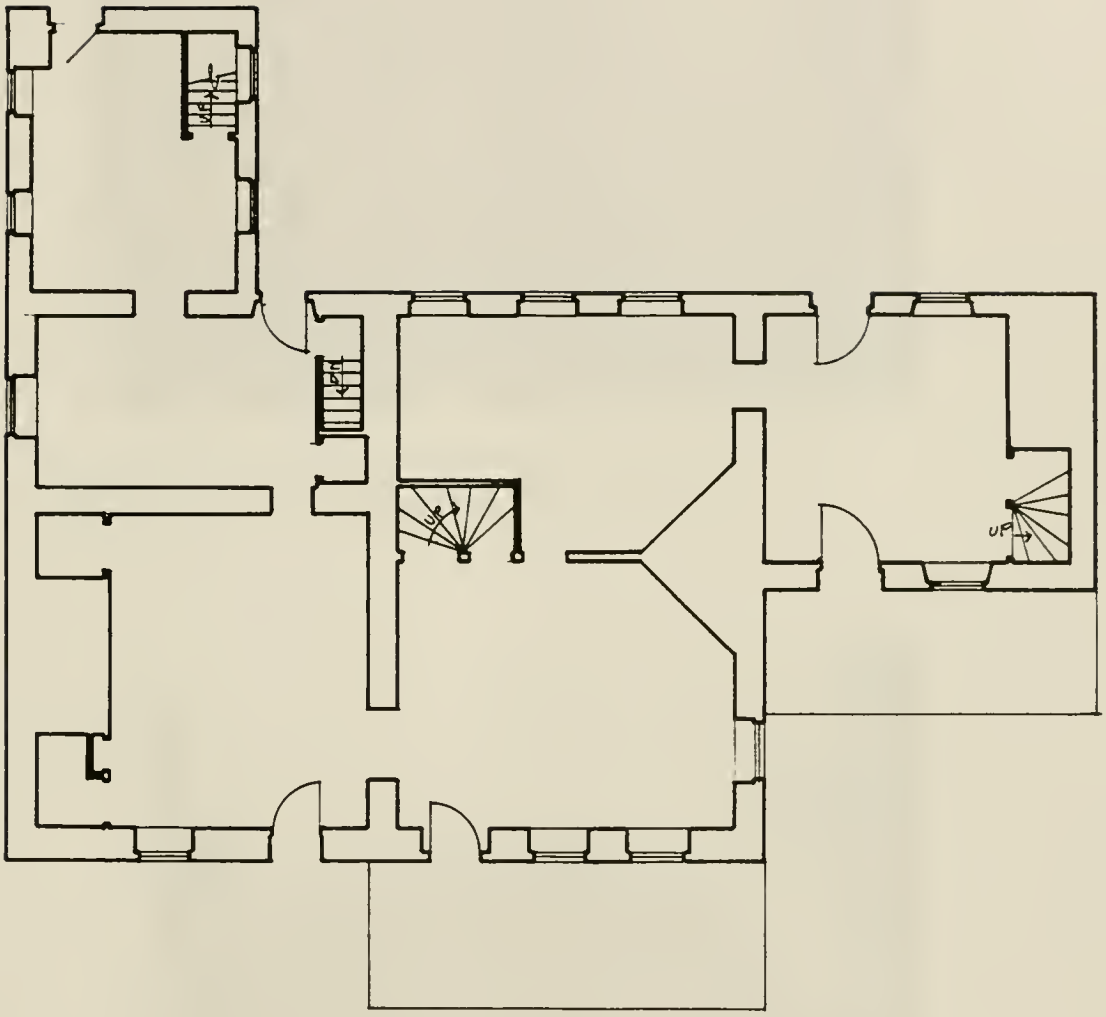



Figure 14: First floor plan of Stirling's Quarters at Valley Forge, circa 1725, 1769 and 1830, drawing 1991.

Plate 1: View of house from south,
circa 1955.

Plate 2: View of house from southeast,
circa 1959.

Plate 3: View of rear of house from west, circa 1955.

Plate 4: View of house from east, circa 1959.

Plate 5: View of house from northeast, circa 1950.

Plate 6: View of house from northeast, circa 1950.

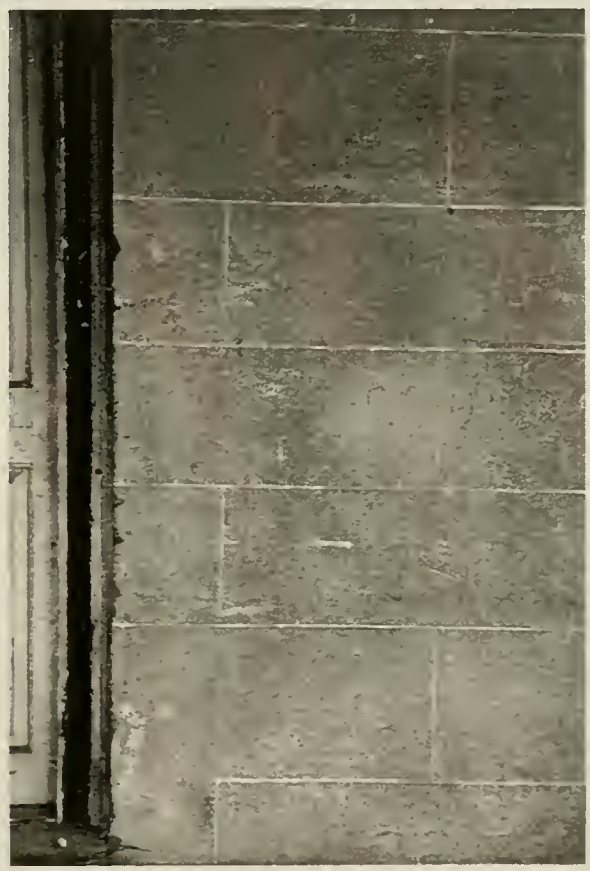


Plate 7: Detail of scored stucco treatment at north center doorway, 1991.

Plate 8: Interior view of ballroom in Wetherill addition, circa 1959.

Plate 9: View of fireplace in Rm.101, circa 1955.

Plate 10: Interior view of kitchen in Rm.102 with Mrs. Boulware, circa 1955.

Plate 11: View of house from southeast immediately after fire in 1967.

Plate 12: View from northeast, 1991.

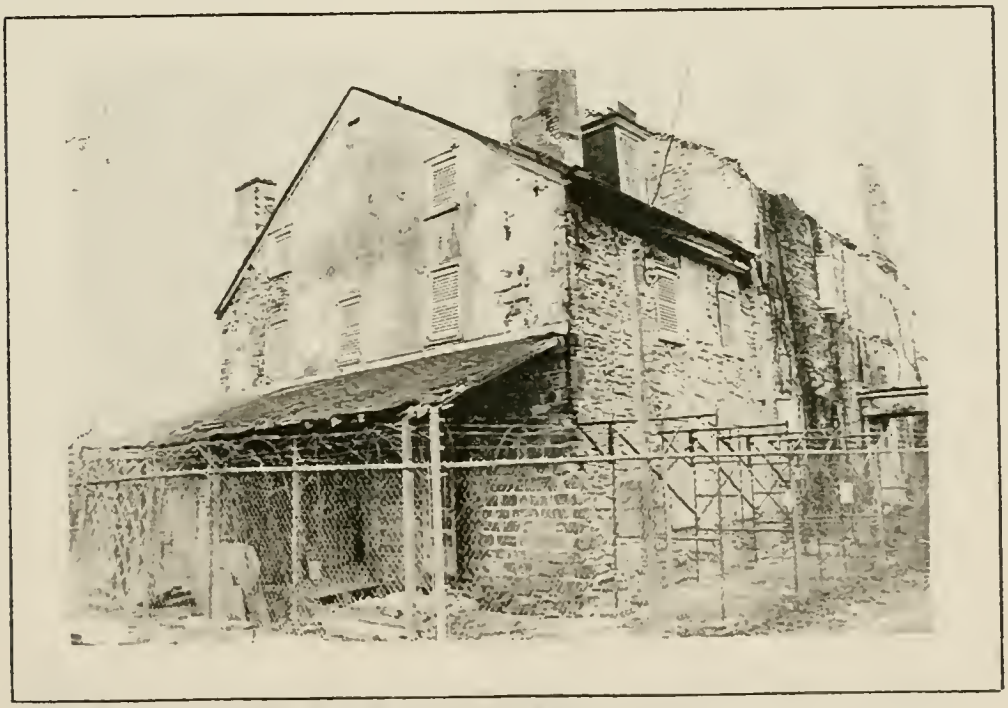


Plate 13: View from southeast, 1991.

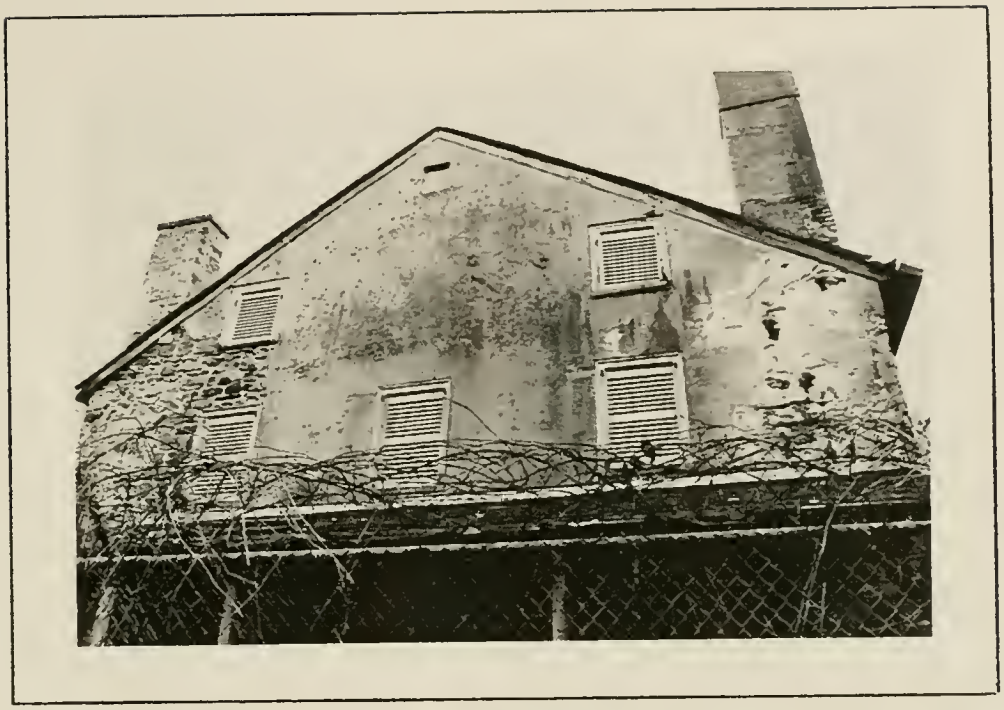


Plate 14: Detail of north gable, 1991.

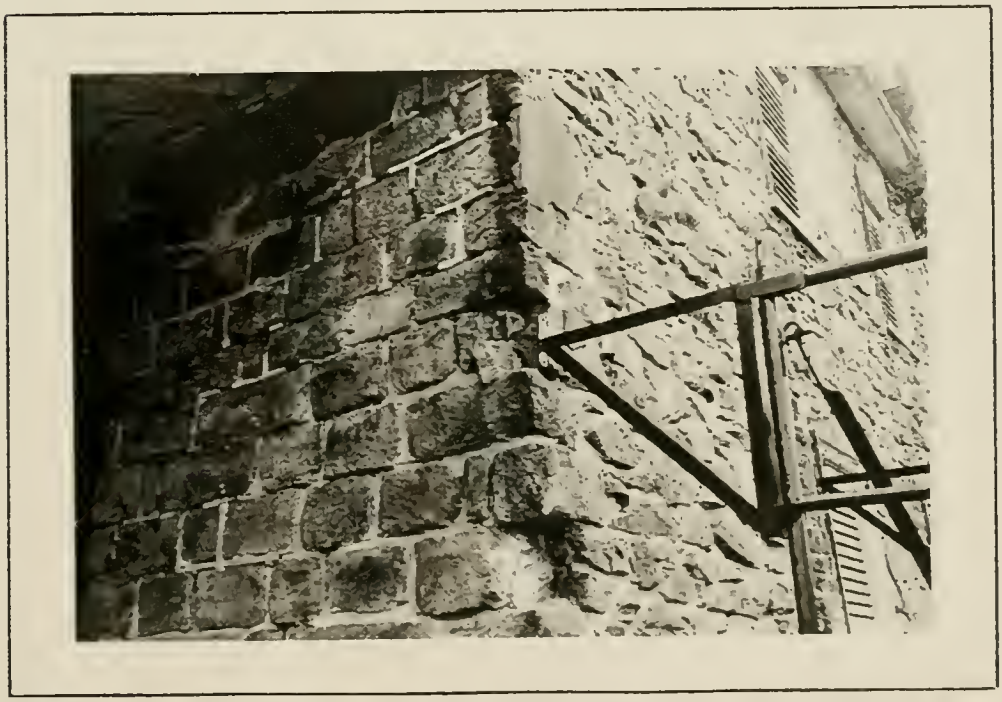


Plate 15: Detail of northwest corner showing masonry of north facade at left and west facade at right, 1991.

Plate 16: Detail of segmented stone arch above first floor window in north elevation, 1991.

Plate 17: Detail of supports for cantilevered door hood on north facade, 1991.

Plate 18: Detail of interior mortised connection of door hood supports, 1991.

Plate 19: Detail of surviving mortar flashing of door hood above north entry door, 1991.

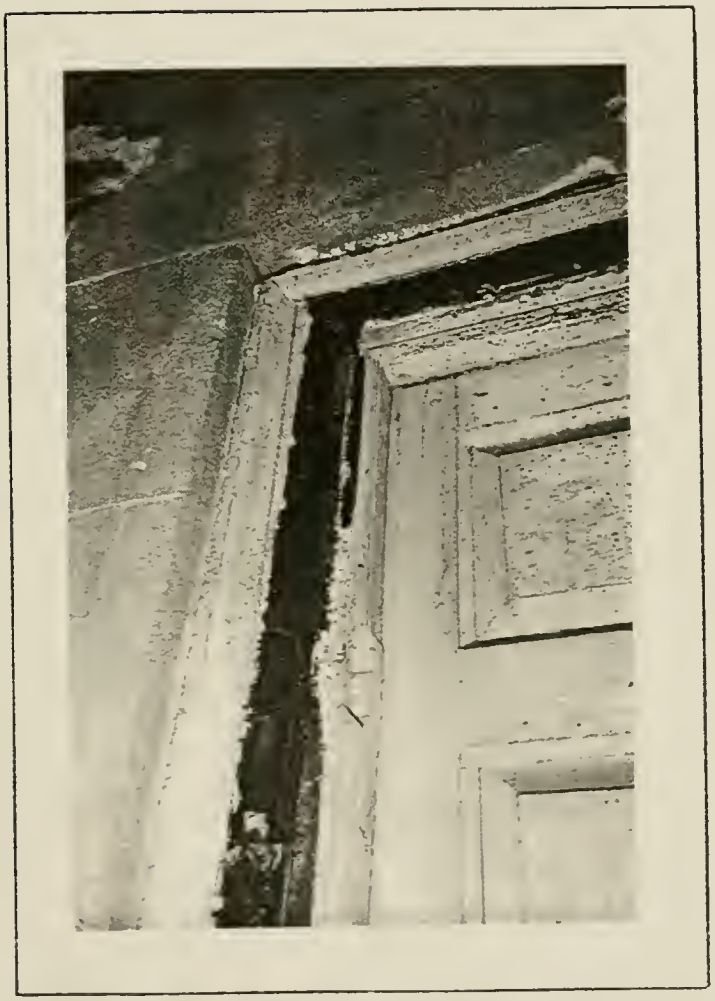


Plate 20: Detail of 18th century exterior door frame on north facade, showing molding profiles and location of transom bar, 1991.

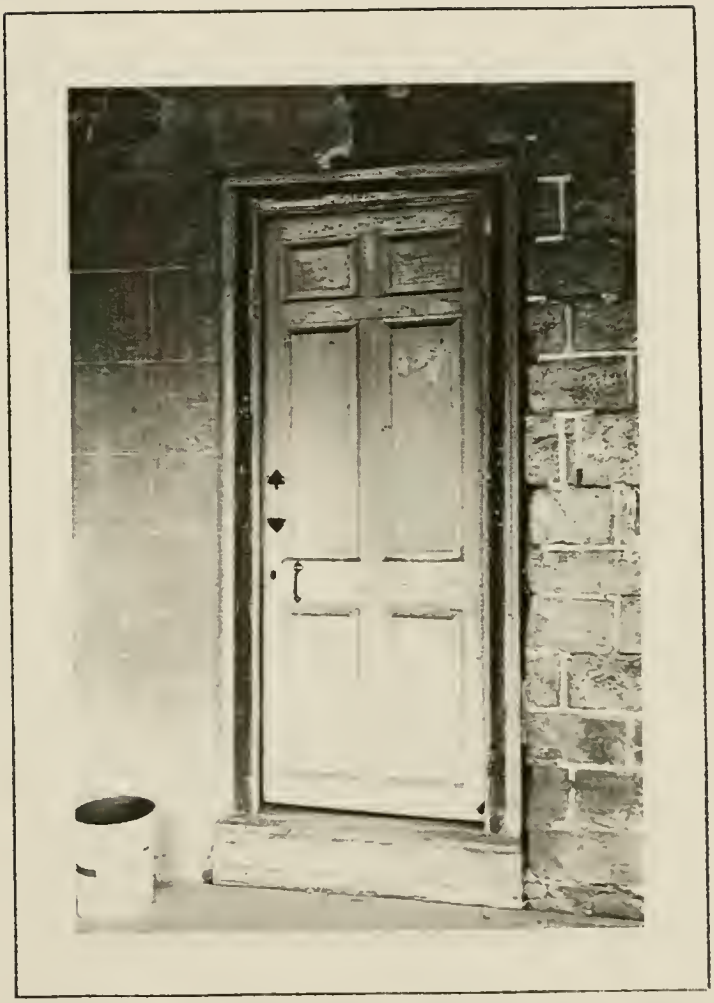


Plate 21: Exterior elevation of 18th century door and frame, 1991.

Plate 22: Interior elevation of 18th century door and frame, 1991.

Plate 23: Detail of surviving ridge pointing at top of east facade, 1991.

Plate 24: Detail of surviving smear pointing at first floor level of east facade, 1991.

Plate 25: Detail of replacement window frame, first floor west.

Plate 26: Detail of cornice framing, east side, 1991. Note rafter tips, plate and floor joists.

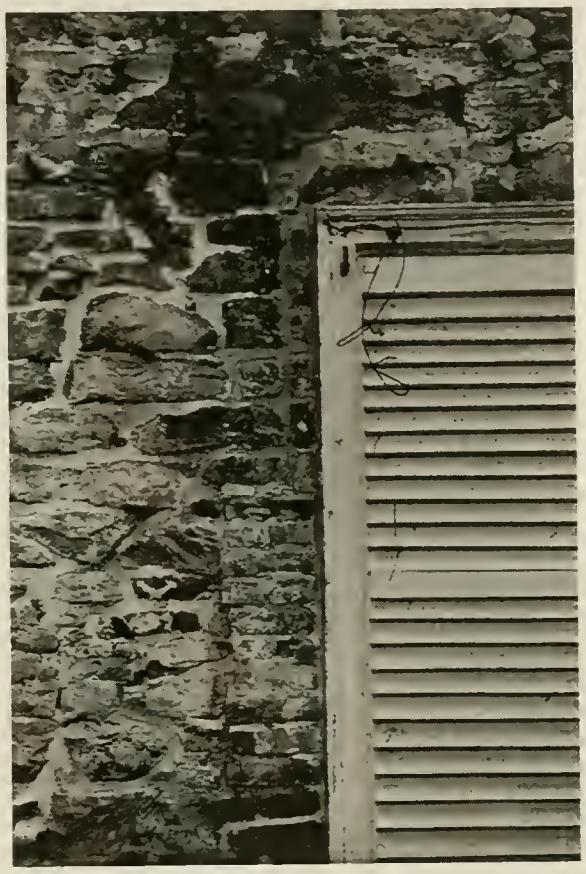


Plate 27: Detail of brick infill at window to Rm.202 at fireplace jamb.

Plate 28: Detail of first floor joist bearing in 18th century south wall of cellar, 1991.

Plate 29: Detail of cellar stair and window opening, north wall, 1991.

Plate 30: Detail of cellar window opening showing wrought iron bars, 1991.

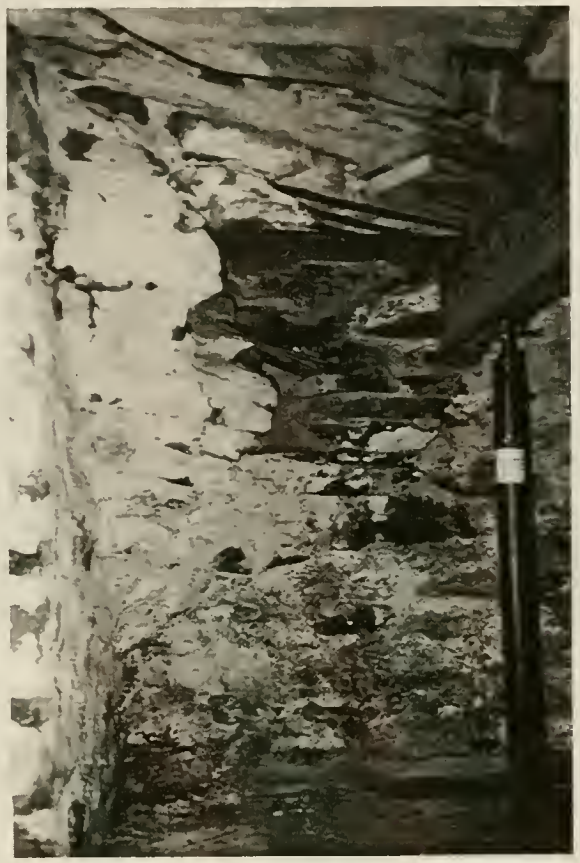


Plate 31: Detail of corbelled masonry base of below Rm.101.

Plate 32: Detail of brick arch supporting late 19th century hearth in Rm.102, 1991.

Plate 33: Detail of first floor joists bearing on lintel of basement stair opening, 1991. Note diagonal header below corner fireplace above.

Plate 34: Detail of corner fireplace in Rm. 101, 1991.

Plate 35: Detail of wood cornice and panelled door jamb at entry door to Rm.101, 1991.

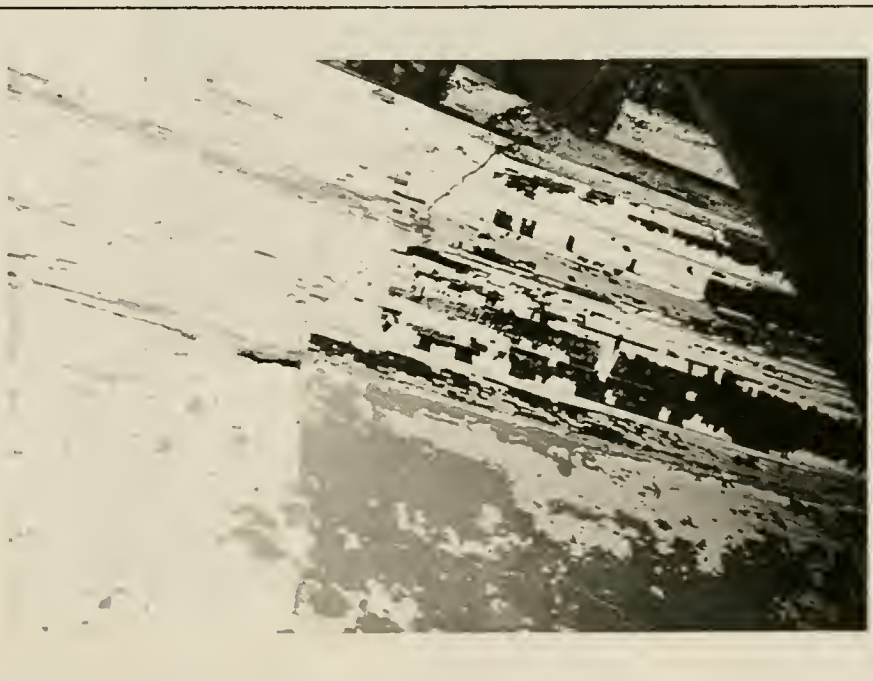


Plate 36: Detail of wood cornice at location of corner cupboard in Rm.101, 1991.

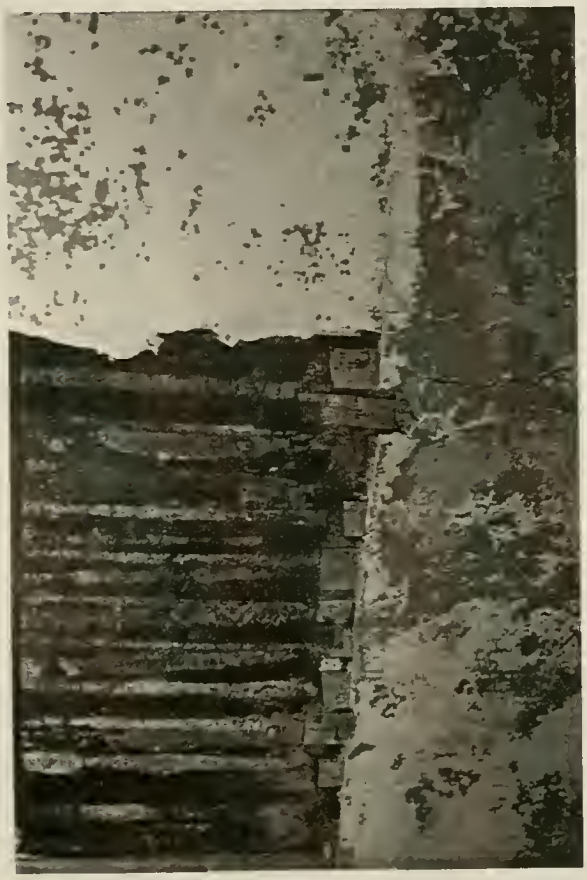


Plate 37: Detail of 18th century plaster edge at location of corner cupboard in Rm.101, 1991. Note early clay and grass plaster on split lath at right.

Plate 38: General view of location of corner cupboard in Rm.101, 1991.

Plate 39: Detail of panelling at location of corner cupboard in Rm.101, 1991. Original dado panelling at right, 19th century infill at left.

Plate 40: Detail of 19th century cooking hearth in Rm.102, 1991. Note location of oven door.

Plate 41: Close-up of oven door in Plate 40, 1991.

Plate 42: View of beaded-board wall at stair in Rm.102, 1991. Door at right cut through masonry in 1950s, center door in board wall circa 1880, door at left to cellar stair circa 1836..

Plate 43: Detail of ceiling of Rm.102, 1991. Note handsplit oak lath with wrought nails, renailed with cut nails, covered with 19th century plaster.

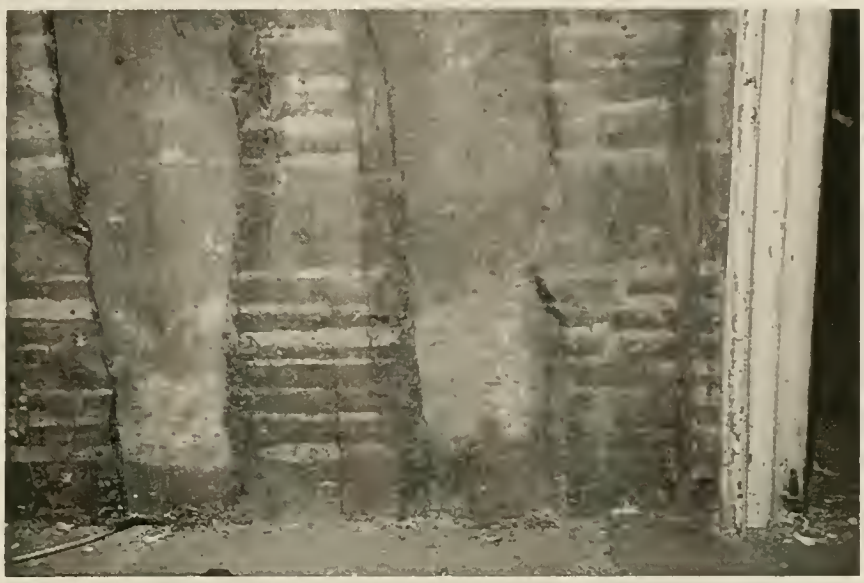


Plate 44: Detail of first floor partition. Note ghosts of chair rail and baseboard.

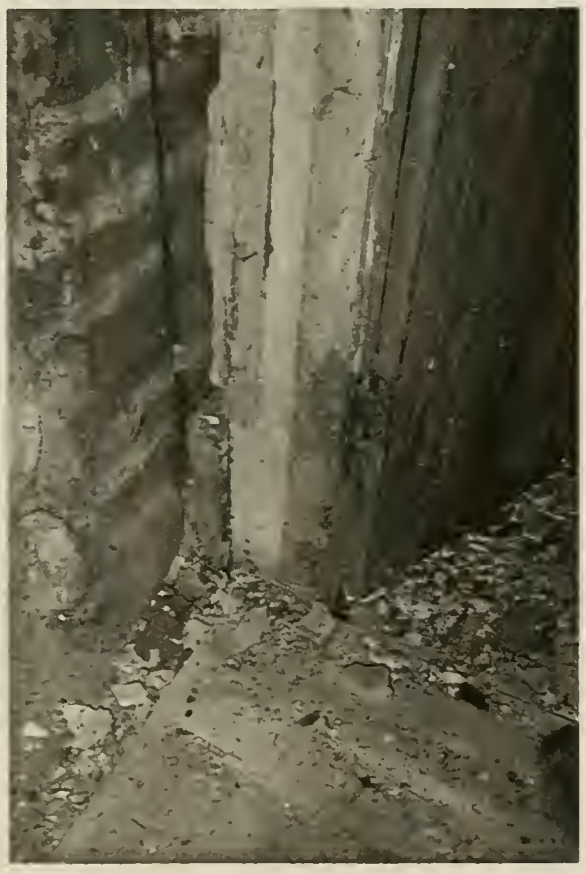


Plate 45: Detail of 18th century baseboard behind board stair wall.

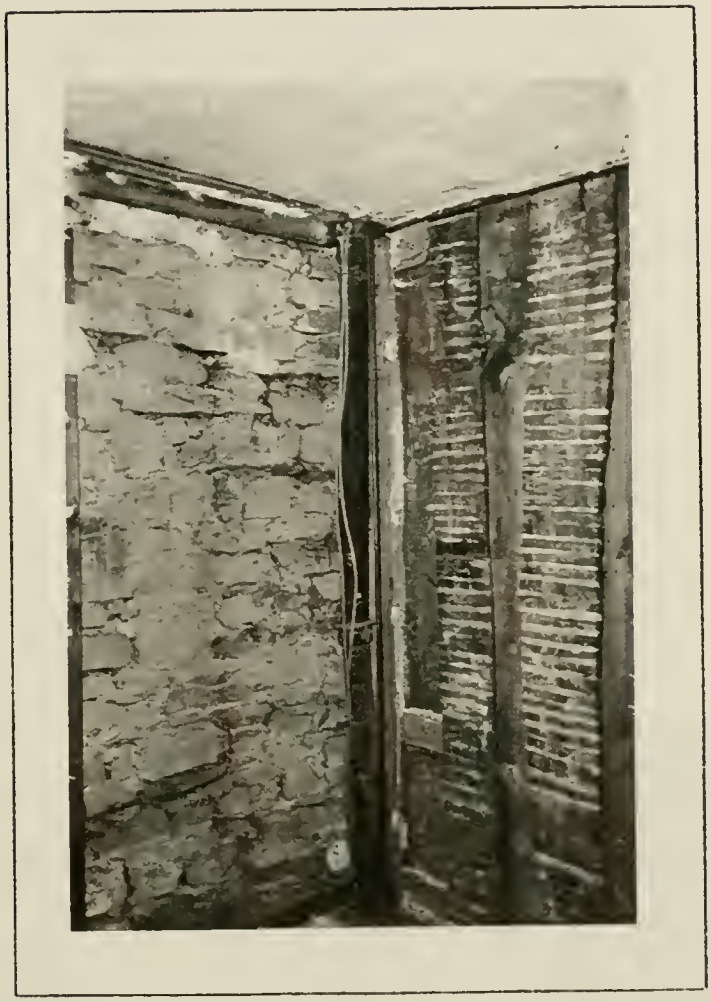


Plate 46: Location of corner cupboard in Rm.102, 1991. Note ghost of cupboard shelves and sides, chair rails, baseboards and wood cornice at left.

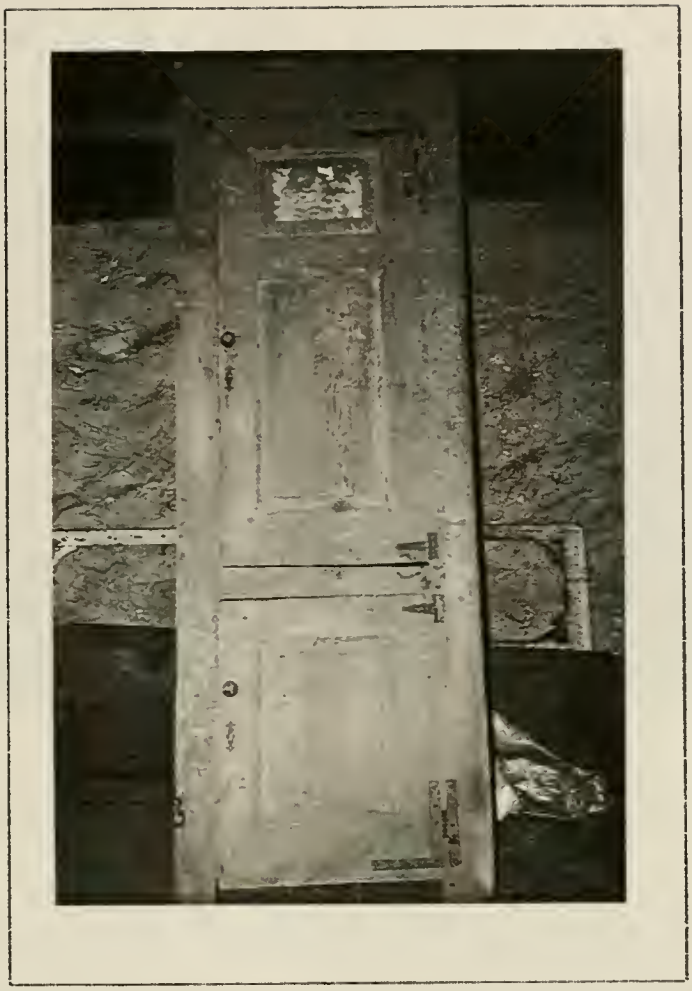


Plate 47: Elevation of cupboard taken from Rm.102, 1991.

Plate 48: Detail of lower hinge on cupboard from Rm.102, 1991.

Plate 49: Detail of corner fireplace in Rm.201, 1991. Mantel is 19th century addition.

Plate 50: Detail of imprint on floor of 18th century partition and door jamb at top of stair on second floor, 1991.

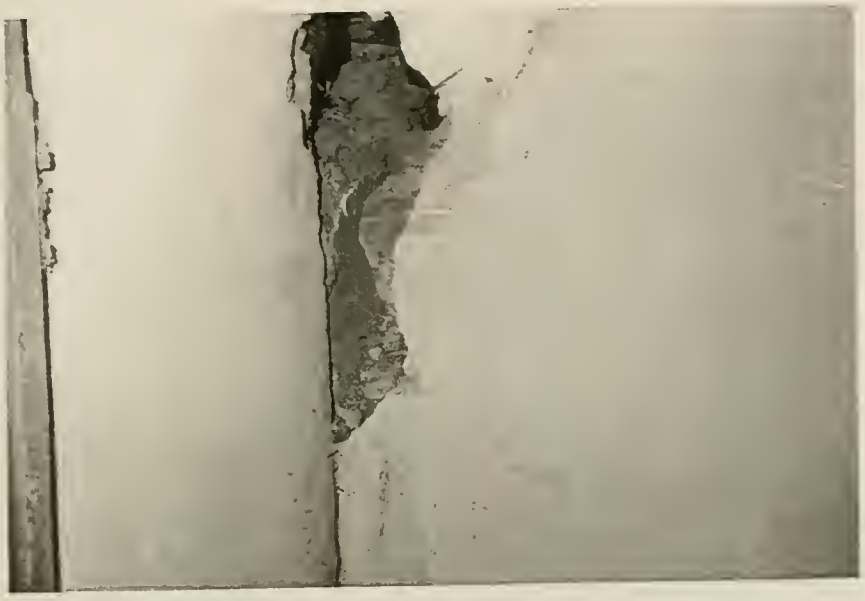


Plate 51: Detail of 18th century finish plaster continuing behind 19th century masonry, Rm.201.

Plate 52: View of second floor north center window. Note summer beams.

Plate 53: Detail of original flooring around stair opening at second floor, 1991. Note neat edge of flooring and later beam inserted to close down overall stair opening.

Plate 54: Detail of framing around stair opening at second floor, 1991. Note edge of original flooring at left and later beam cut into original headers.

Plate 55: Detail from below of second floor framing around stair opening, 1991. All 3x8 joists and headers appear original and in original locations.

Plate 56: Detail of corner fireplace in Rm.202, 1991. Note evidence of baseboard and chair rail.

Plate 57: Detail of 18th century wall plaster in place above 19th century ceiling on west wall of Rm.202, 1991. Joists were originally exposed.

Plate 58: Detail of summer beam in ceiling of Rm.102, 1991. Note chop marks and surviving plaster on sides of summer beam.

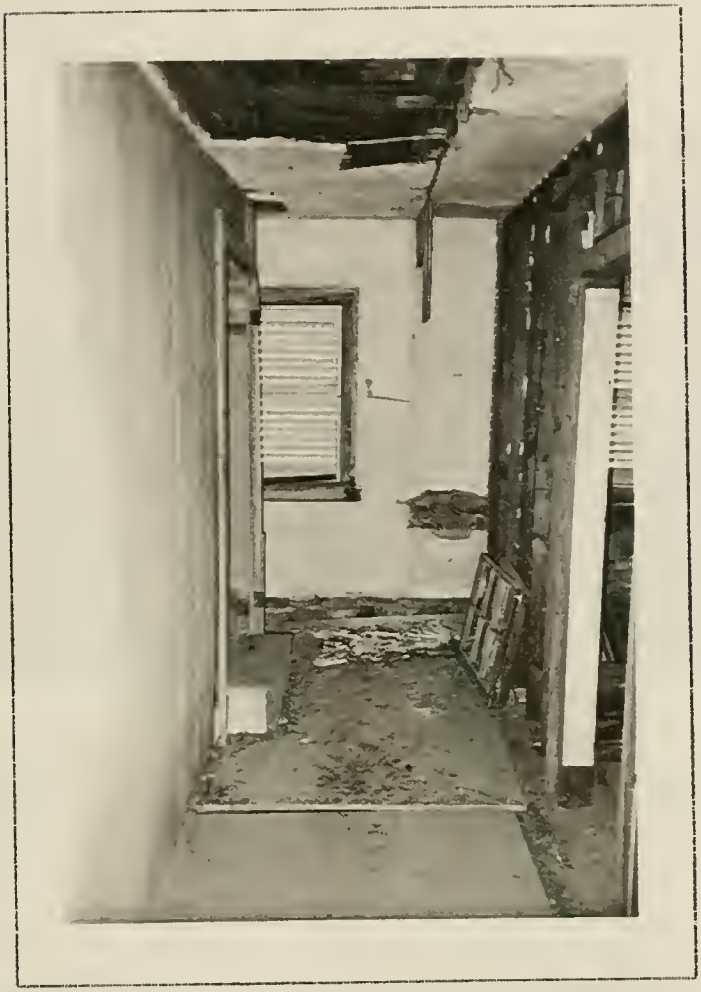


Plate 59: General view of second floor hall showing partitions, 1991.

Plate 60: Detail of 19th century beaded-board partition at west wall of Rm.202, 1991.

Plate 61: Detail of 19th century ceiling in Rm.202, 1991. Note presence of beaded-board partition, installed with plaster ceiling and later removed.

Plate 62: Detail of wood block nailer in masonry of Rm.202, 1991. Note unusual profile of block.

Plate 63: Detail of partition at attic floor level with plaster and lath removed.

Plate 64: View down stairway from attic, 1991. Note 1836 railing.

Plate 65: Detail of board partition at attic stair, 1991. Boards reused from Rm.202 partition.

Plate 66: Detail of door opening onto stair through south wall.

Plate 67: View into roof space above attic, 1991. Note wood shingle roofing in place below current standing seam metal roof.

Plate 68: Detail of late 18th century jamb molding found in attic reused as nailer behind 19th century ceiling, 1991.

Plate 69: General view of Wetherill barn at Walnut Hill, 1991.

Plate 70: View of 19th century privy west of mansion at Walnut Hill, 1991.

Plate 71: View of spring house at Walnut Hill, circa 1950.

Plate 72: View of late 19th century tenant farmer's house at Walnut Hill, 1991.

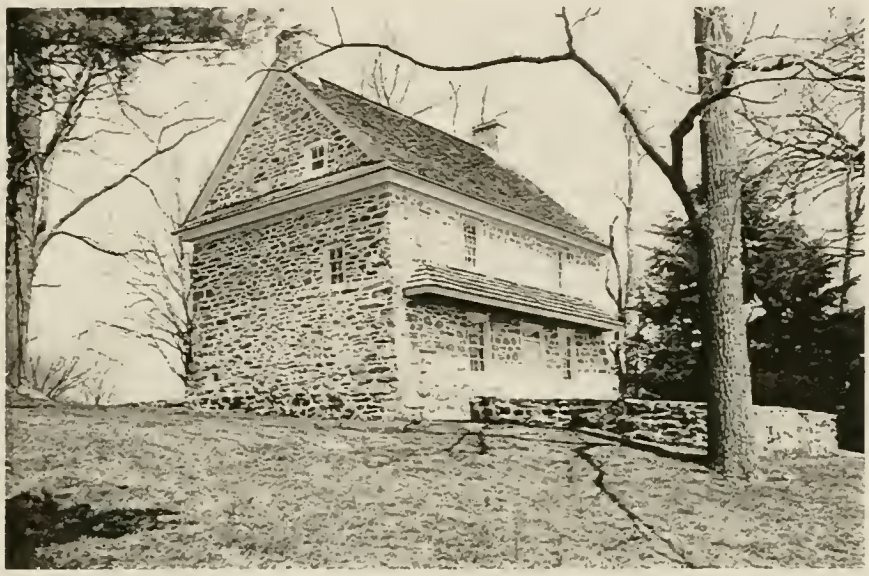


Plate 73: Varnum's Quarters at Valley Forge, circa 1718, photo 1992. View from southwest.

Plate 74: Detail of south front of Varnum's Quarters at Valley Forge.

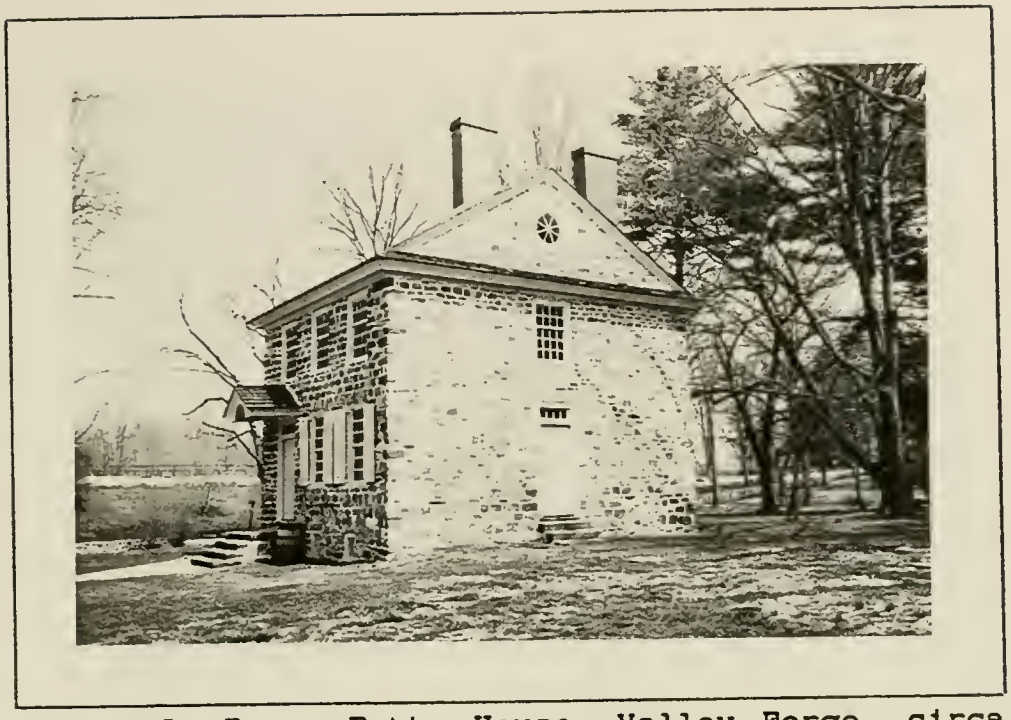


Plate 75: Isaac Potts House, Valley Forge, circa 1760, photo 1991. View from southwest.

Plate 76: Detail of entry hood at the Isaac Potts House, 1991.

Plate 77: View of southwest corner of Isaac Potts House, 1991. Note differences in masonry.

Plate 78: Detail of entry hall trim at Isaac Potts House, 1992.

Plate 79: Lord Stirling's Quarters at Valley Forge, circa 1725, 1769 and 1830, photo 1992.

Plate 80: Jimmy White House, circa 1765, Valley Forge, photo 1992. View from southwest.

Plate 81: Jimmy White House, view from northwest, 1992.

Plate 82: Jimmy White House, view from southeast, 1992.

# Appendix A
## Chain of Title
## Walnut Hill Farm

December 20, 1984

Lyle F. & Mary C. Boulware
to
United States

$435,000.00
57 Acres.
Montgomery County Deed Book 4755-2177

October 24, 1949

Heirs of Maria Janeway
to
Lyle F. Boulware

$15,000.00
57 Acres.
Montgomery County Deed Book 2034-559

The heirs of Maria Janeway agree to sell Lyle Boulware 57 acres remaining from the 157 1/2 acre Walnut Hill Farm.

A 42 acre tract of the Walnut Hill farm along the Schuykill River had already been acquired by the State of Pennsylvania for inclusion in the Valley Forge Park in 1944. The remaining land, north of Pawling Road was not sold to the Boulwares.

September 16, 1890

Maria L. Janeway
to
Grandchildren

Administration of the Estate of Maria L. Janeway, deceased.
Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 3278

The will of Maria L. Janeway directed that her estate be placed in trust and that the income generated be payed to her two daughters as long as they live, and that upon their deaths, the property be divided among her grandchildren. Also, her husband would be allowed to have the use of the Walnut Hill Farm for his natural life in common with her daughters.

June 4, 1878

Court of Common Pleas
to
Maria L. Janeway

December Term, 1877,No.500
Philadelphia County Coury of Common Pleas No. 1

In an equity suit to settle competing claims of ownership among the children of John Price and Maria Kane Wetherill, the 157 1/2 acre Walnut Hill Farm is awarded Maria L. Janeway, one of their daughters.

September 10, 1877

Maria Kane Wetherill, deceased
to
Children

Philadelphia Register of Wills No. 680

The will of Maria Kane Wetherill, dated April 13, 1876, directed that her estate be divided equally among all of her children.

July 21, 1853

John Price Wetherill, deceased
to
Maria K. Wetherill, wife

Philadelphia Register of Wills No. 214

The will of John Price Wetherill, signed on July 21, 1853 and probated on July 29, 1853, left "all my furniture, household goods and my personal property generally in and about my dwelling house in Dock Street and my country place at Perkiomen, to my wife, to be hers absolutely."

October 2, 1829

Samuel Wetherill, Jr., deceased
to
Rachel Wetherill, wife, and Children

Philadelphia Register of Wills No. 113

At the time of his death, Samuel Wetherill Jr. owned a considerable amount of land in Providence Township including nearly all of the land originally purchased by

Henry Pawling (I) in 1719. To his wife, Rachel, he left his Philadelphia residence and "my Farm called the Bakewell Farm in Montgomery County together with the appurtenances". All his other property was given to his five children "to hold... in equal parts as Tenants in Common...". John Price Wetherill, one of his sons, eventually assumed ownership of the Walnut Hill Farm.

April 1, 1826

Levi Pawling & James Milnor, Executors of the Estate of Henry Pawling (III), deceased
to
Samuel Wetherill, Jr.

$7,875.31
157 Acres, 81 Perches
Montgomery County Deed Book No. 41-587

In adding to his earlier purchases in the vicinity, Samuel Wetherill, Jr. purchased a large portion of the farm of Henry Pawling (III), "being that part on which the said Henry Pawling resided at the time of Making his last will and Testament". Not included in this sale was a parcel of land containing 99 1/4 acres which was under the tenure of William Pawling, son of Henry Pawling (III). John Price Wetherill eventually purchased this farm in 1843.

Henry Pawling (III) signed his will on July 25, 1817, apparently in poor health,(Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4978), however he did not die until October 23, 1822. In his will, he directs his executors, Levi Pawling and James Milnor, to sell "my plantation and tract of land as well as that part now in the tenure of my son William as that whereon I reside supposed to contain two hundred and fifty ...acres with all the improvements and buildings thereon..."

November 3, 1792

Henry Pawling (II), deceased
to
Henry Pawling (III), son

Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4976

By his will dated November 18, 1791, with a codicil dated August 29, 1792, Henry Pawling (II) distributed portions of his land holdings to his sons Henry (III), John and Nathan. "I give and devise unto my son Henry Pawling his Heirs and assigns forever all the remainder of my tract of land in Providence Township...it being that part on which my Mansion House stands and in which I now live, there being between Two and Three hundred Acres of land contained therein with the Buildings and improvements thereon..."

October, 1739

Henry Pawling (I), deceased
to
Children

Philadelphia Administration Deed No. 100
Will No. 5

Henry Pawling (I) died in 1739 intestate. His widow Jacomintje and son Henry (II) were present at the administration of his estate. Through a series of deeds, all of the siblings of Henry (II) relinquish to him all claim to the estate of their father.

September 15, 1719

Edward Farmer
to
Henry Pawling (I)

500 Acres.
Unregistered Deed

This transaction is cited in the deeds of all of the subsequent 18th century transfers of portions of the original 500 acre tract.

## Appendix B:
## Inventory of the Estate of Henry Pawling (I)*

Second Day of November Annoq Domini 1739

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To Wareing Apparell | L | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| To his Rideing Mare Sadle and Bridle | | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Bay Colt two year old | | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| To two Working Horses | | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| To a working Horse and a Mare | | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Mare and Colt | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Spring Colt | | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| To Old Stallion | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| To 5 Yearlings Chattle | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To 4 Cows | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To 4 Heiffers and a Stear | | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Stear 4 year old | | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| To 2 Cows | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To 6 Calfs | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Stear | | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| To a Bull and a Cow | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To 3 Cows | | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| To 31 Sheep | | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| To 5 Hodgs | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Sow and 8 Shoats | | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| To a Wagg. | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To 3 Plaghs and Irons | | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| To a Harrow | | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To 400 Bushels of all Sorts of grain in And about the barn | | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Cuting Box | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| To 4 Pickfork | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| To a Grinding Stone | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| To 40 Acres of Corn that is now in the Ground | | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Lume 6 Reeds and Six pare of Geers | | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To 4 Settle Spining Wheels | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To one Spining Wheel | | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | | 202 | (?) | (?) |

(Inventory of Henry Pawling (I) 1739, cont.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To a Small Box of Draws | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To a old Coverlead | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| To a Case of Draws | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Cobbard | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| To a Wallnot Table | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To a Small Table | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| To 12 Plaits | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To 3 Dishes and a Baison | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| To 18 Spoons | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| To 6 Iron Pots | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| To a pare of Hand Irons | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Pare of tongs Ladle and flesh fork | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| To a Sword and Pistal | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To a Parsol of old Books | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Looking Glass | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| To a Broad Ax Chesels and Gimlet | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To 16 yards of Drucket | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| To 3 Sithes | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To 2 Axes 2 Grobing Hoes and 3 Weeding Hoes | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To 4 Barrels and a half Barrel | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To Tubs Pails and other Lumber | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To a Negro Man Named Jack | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Woman Named Bess | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Gerl Named Cate | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Boy Named Ollever | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Garl Named Lane | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Boy Named Tom | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Boy Named Tim | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Negro Gearl Named Bet | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| To Bills and Bonds and Books Debts | 37 | 5 | 10 |
| Plantation Containing 500 Acres of Land | 500 | 0 | 0 |

* Philadelphia Bond of Administration and Inventory, Administration No. 50, 1739. Philadelphia Register of Wills, Philadelphia, PA.

# Appendix C
## Will and Inventory of Henry Pawling (II)*

"Last Will and Testament of Henry Pawling Deceased
Proved the 3rd day of November 1792"

Be it Remembered I Henry Pawling of Providence in the County of Montgomery in Pennsylvania being of sound disposing Mind and Memory, Make this my last Will and Testament, I resign my soul to its Creator in all humble hope of its future happiness as in the disposial of a Being infinately good, As to my Body my Will is that it be buried near my Dear Parents and my Dear Wife in Providence.

Item I do Will that all my Just debts and funeral expenses be first paid and discharged_____

Item I give and devise unto my Son John Pawling his heirs & assigns forever Thirty seven Acres of Land adjoining the tract I have given him by Deed, the line thereof to begin at a Beech Tree near the River Schuylkill which Tree is a corner of the said tract I gave him, thence down the several courses along the said River and from thence up the several courses agreeable to a survey made by my Son John the sixteenth day of April one Thousand seven hundred and ninety one which will appear by his draft herein inclosed. And moreover it is my Will that the line as laid down in the said draft shall be continued in a straight direction towards the Perkiomy Creek untill it intersects the line laid down in his first Deed, in consequence of which devise my Son John shall not charge any Interest on a Bond I gave him for one Hundred pounds & upwards.

Item I give and devise unto my Son Nathan Pawling his Heirs and assigns forever one hundred Acres of Land adjoining the Tract I have given him by Deed, the line to begin on the River Schuylkill and continue up to the Perkiomy Creek such courses as shall be found most convenient for the two adjoining Farms taking into consideration the cleared and Timber Land on each, the said devised premises subject to the payment of Three Hundred Pounds well and truly to be paid into the hands of my Executors or the survivor of them, And if my Sons Henry and Nathan do not agree between themselves on a line to divide the hereby devised one Hundred Acres from my Mansion House Farm in that case each of them shall choose one Person which two Persons so chosen shall nominate a third, and when the three Persons are so selected they shall proceed to survey a line the most

suitable in their Judgement which line when run and laid down I do Will shall forever after be and remain the fixed boundary forever between my Son Nathan's Land hereby devised and the tract of Land on which my Mansion House stands provided any two of the three Persons chosen as herein before directed shall agree to the same, and in case of the decease of either of my two Sons Henry or Nathan before the line is finally fixed, it is then my Will the same mode herein before described respecting said line shall be observed by their Heirs Executors Administrators and assigns_____

Item I give and devise unto ny Son Henry Pawling his Heirs and assigns forever all the remainder of my Tract of Land in providence Township in the County of Montgomery it being that part on which my Mansion House stands & in which I now live, there being between Two and Three hundred Acres of Land contained therein with the Buildings & improvements thereon be the same more or less, The said devised premises subject to the payment of the following sums of money which my Son Henry his Heirs Executors Administrators or assigns shall pay or cause to be well and truly paid as follows, That is to say unto my Son Benjamin Pawling or his Order Six Hundred pounds lawfull money of Pennsylvania, Which sum I give and devise unto my Son Benjamin his Heirs and assigns forever_____ In like manner unto my Son Jesse Pawling Six Hundred Pounds, which Sum I give and devise unto my said Son Jesse his Heirs & Assigns forever.

In like manner unto my Son William Pawling one hundred and Eighty Pounds, which sum I give and devise unto my said Son William his Heirs and Assigns forever.

In like manner unto Col: Henry Pawling of the State of Kanetuck Twenty Pounds which I give and devise unto him as a small token of my sincere regard & friendship for him.

Item I give and devise unto my Daughter Catharine Stalmford her Heirs and Assigns forever Two Hundred and Seventy five Acres of Land part of my Tract in the County of Luzern on the last branch of the Susquehanah River known by the name of Wyolousing my said Daughter to select the said Two hundred and Seventy five Acres from any part of the whole tract of six hundred and twenty three Acres which my Deed calls for, provided it be contiguous and in one compact Body, the said devised Lands subject to the payment of Fifty Pounds Pennsylvania Currency to be well and truly paid into the hands of my Executors the survivors of them or their legal representatives at such time as the said two hundred and

seventy five acres of land hereby devised shall be clear of Incumberances relative to the Connecticut Claiments_____

Item I order and direct my Executors the survivors of them or their legal representatives to sell at such times as they may Judge most prudent considering the Connecticut claim all the remainder of my Wyolousing tract of Land not herein before devised unto my Daughter Cathatine Stalmford for the highest price they can obtain for the same, and make good and sufficient Deeds therefor_____

Item I give and devise unto my Daughter Rachel Bartholomew and her Heirs forever Five Hundred pounds to be paid out of the money arrising from the sale of my Wyolousing Land which I have herein ordered to be sold, provided the sale thereof shall amount to the said two hundred pounds and moreover the amount of the incumbrance now on the whole tract, but should the money arrising from the sale of the land fall short of paying off the incumberance and the Two hundred pounds hereby devised, then I will that the incumberance be first paid, and my Daughter Rachel must be content with what will then remain_____

Item I give and devise unto my Grandsons Henry Pawling/ Son of John/ and Levy Pawling/ Son of Henry/ the residue of Money arrising from the sale of my Wyolousing land after the incumberance is cleared off and their Aunt Rachels legacy of two hundred pounds paid, to be divided between two said Grandsons share and share alike_____

Item I order and direct my Executors or the survivors of them to sell my Island in the River Schuylkill known by the Name of Catfish Island

Item I give and devise unto the Wardens of St James Church their successors, Ten Pounds arrising out ot the sale of my said Island in the River Schuylkill to be paid them for the purpose of walling in with stone the grave yard of said Church in Providence Township_____

Item I give and devise unto my Daughter Rachel and Catherine all my plate_____ Item. I give and devise unto my Brother Barney Pawling Forty Shillings and my common wearing apparel_____

Item I give and devise unto my Son John Pawling my walking cain and my silver watch____Unto my Son Henry Pawling I have before making this my will given him a full childs share of my estate_____

Item I give and devise unto my executors Fifty Pounds to be equally divided between them share and share alike to be paid out of the residue of my estate, for the trouble they may have in executing this my Will_____

Item I give and devise the residue of all my Estate Real & Personal of whatever description it may be not heretofore alienated or devised Unto my Sons John, Henry, Benjamin, Nathan, Jesse, and William, to be equally divided between them share and share alike_____

Item I do constitute and appoint my two Sons John Pawling and Henry Pawling to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby declare this to be my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former and other Wills by me heretofore made and do declare and Publish this only In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the Eighteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and ninety one

Signed Sealed & Published
by Henry Pawling the testator
as and for his last Will Henry Pawling
and Testament in Presence
of Us who have Subscribed our
Names as Witnesses in his presence
and at his request

(?) Edwards
(John Waggonseller)
James Vaux

"Inventory of the goods
&C of Henry Pawling
deceased"

An Inventory of the goods and Chattels of Henry Pawling deceased taken this 23 Day of October 1792 by James Vaux and John Waggonsaylor.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wearing apparel not willed | 6 | 12 | 0 |
| Riding Horse, Saddle & Bridle | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| A Blue Bedstead, bed & bedding | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Poplar Do., Do. & Do. | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Walnut Do., Do. & Do. | (1) | 17 | 6 |
| An old bedstead | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| A Clock | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| A large gilt looking glass | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| A Dining table and cover | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Clothes press | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| A Map | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 7 Windsor Chairs | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 8 Rush bottom chairs | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| A looking glass and dressing Table | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| A Couch and Coverlet | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| 2 Table Cloths | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 2 Brass Candlesticks | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Dishes & plates | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| A Teatable | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| A Desk | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| A Small looking glass | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 4 Pair of dogIrons 2 pair of tongs & a Shovel | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| A Spirit Case | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| A Poplar Table | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A red Cow | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Brass kettles | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A large (?) kettle | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Tea kettle | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Small Iron pot | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| 3 Pot racks | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| A bake plate, spit frying pan & a pot | o | 13 | 0 |
| A light Waggon | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| An old Walnut table | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| A Small looking glass | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| An old dining Table | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| An open Stove | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| A Cupboard | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Stove | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| A Doughtrough | 0 | 10 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A Riding Chair being in Philad'a the value cannot be ascertained | | | |
| To 25 Bushels of Wheat | 7 | 18 | 9 |
| To a Bond | 19 | 18 | 8 |
| To a Noat | 35 | | |

Montgomery County (?)
Personally came James Vaux and John Waggonsaylor and being Solemnly Sworn and affirmed that the goods Chattels rights and Credits in the Above Inventory set down and Specified were Appraised according to their Just & true respective rates and values after the best of their Judgement & understanding and that they appraised all things that were brought to their View for appraisment_____

Sworn & Affirmed to before me this third of November 1792
(Imm...?)
James Morris Reg'r

* Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4976, will, codicil to will and inventory of the personal effects of Henry Pawling (II).

# Appendix D
## Will and Inventory of Henry Pawling (III)*

Be it Remembered that I Henry Pawling of the Township of Lower Providence in the County of Montgomery and state of Pennsylvania being weak in body but of sound mind memory and understanding Do make publish and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following that is to say.

I direct my Just debts and funeral expenses to be paid as soon as convenient after my decease.

I do authorize and empower my executors hereinafter named and the survivors of them to sell for the best price that can be obtained either at public or private sale as they shall think proper my plantation and tract of land as well that part now in the tenure of my son William as that whereon I reside supposed to contain Two hundred and fifty acres with all the improvements and buildings thereon___The sale to be made at a reasonable time after my decease this however to be at the discretion of my executors___The proceeds of which sale as well as the residue of my estate I dispose of as follows.

I give and bequeath to my son Henry Augustus the sum of One hundred and fifty pounds to be paid him in the manner and form as follows___fifty pounds part thereof in one year after my decease and fifty pounds more thereof in two years after my decease and fifty pounds the residue and in full payment thereof in three years after my decease_____

I give and bequeath to Sarah Butler my housekeeper a milk cow/ to have her choice out of my flock and also the sum of fifty dollars to be paid her by my executors as soon as convenient after my decease____

I direct my executors as soon as convenient after my decease to dispose of all my remaining personal estate of which sale is to be considered as the residuary part of my estate____

All the rest residue and remainder of my estate of whatever description real personal and mixed I dispose of as follows. One fourth part thereof I give and bequeath to my son Levi Pawling . One other fourth part thereof to my son William Pawling. One other fourth part___ thereof to my daughter Eleanor Milnor now the wife of the Reverend James Milnor And one other fourth part thereof to my friends Bird Wilson of the Borough of Norristown, the Rev'd Levi Bull of the County of Chester and Matthias Holstein cashier of the Bank of

Montgomery County To hold to them and the survivors and survivor of them and the heirs of such survivor forever In trust nevertheless that they the said trustees or the survivors or the survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor shall as soon as my executors are prepared to pay over to them the one fourth part as aforesaid that that the said trustees shall put the same out on interest to be secured by Mortgage Judgement or other satisfactory or shall place the same in some safe productive fund and pay over half yearly to my son Henry Augustus the interest thereof during his natural life and after the decease of my said son Henry Augustus to pay the principal sum to his lawful children if he should have any share and share alike and upon the further trust and confidence that if my said son Henry Augustus should die without lawful issue then and in that case to pay the same to my sons Levi and William and my daughter Eleanor and their heirs respectively and upon the further trust and confidence that if in the Judgement of my said trustees my said son Henry Augustus habits and conduct should be such as to afford to them a well grounded hope and confidence that he would in the future part of his life be temperate and sober so that he would make a good and proper use of his portion it is then my will that my said trustees should pay over to my said son Henry Augustus the part of my estate bequeathed to them in trust (deducting a reasonable compensation for their troubles) this I leave to their Judgement and discretion under a full confidence that my wishes on this subject will be fulfilled for the benefit of my son.

It is further my will that all accounts and advancements and debts between me and my children shall be canceled and the legacies I have given in this will are to be taken as full satisfaction for any claim or claims they may have or make against my estate.

I will order and direct that my black boy named Tim shall be free immediately after my decease.

And lastly I nominate constitute and appointmy son Levi Pawling and my son in law James Milnor Executors of this my testament and last will hereby revoking all other wills legacies and bequests by me heretofore made and declaring this and no other to be my last will and testament In Witness whereof I the said Henry Pawling have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty fifth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen

Signed sealed and published from (?) and declared by the said testator as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who in his presence and at his request have subscribed our names as witnesses

Henry Pawling

Jn. P. Farmer

Jos. Thomas

Proved March 21, 1823

Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods and Chattels of Henry Pawling Esq. late of Lower Providence Township Montgomery County deceased made this twenty third day July in the year of our lord 1823.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Eight day clock | $ | 24 | |
| 1 Cherry dining table | | 5 | |
| 1 do. Card table | | 7 | |
| 1 large looking glass | | 4 | |
| (16) white windsor chairs | | 5 | |
| 4 candlesticks | | 1 | |
| 1 plaited cain | | | 40 |
| 1 lot of crockery | | 2 | 50 |
| 1/2 a dozen silver spoons | | 5 | |
| (?) tea spoons | | 3 | |
| 1 pr Andirons Shovel and tongs | | 2 | |
| 1 Feather bed (?) pillows & bedstead | | 10 | |
| 1 do. High Posts | | 20 | |
| Bed dark (?) | | 20 | |
| 1 do. light (?) | | 15 | |
| 3 Coverlets | | 6 | |
| 7 Blankets | | 8 | |
| 4 Coverlets | | 4 | |
| 1 lot of carpeting | | 3 | |
| 2 Wash basins & pr of candlesticks | | | 50 |
| 1 Warming pan | | 1 | 50 |
| | | 145 | 40 |
| Amount brought forward | | 145 | 40 |
| 3 Table Cloths | | 6 | |
| 6 Towels | | 2 | |
| 8 pr Sheets | | 32 | |
| 23 Pillow Cases | | 11 | 50 |
| 1 Set of Bed Curtains | | 6 | |
| 1 dozen Napkins | | 4 | |
| 4 pr Sheets | | 16 | |
| one Trunk | | 1 | 75 |
| one Silver Watch | | 5 | |
| one Iron Stove | | 12 | |
| two Cotton coverleds | | 1 | |
| one case of Drawer | | 6 | |
| one bookcase 2 books | | 2 | |
| one Bedstead | | 1 | 50 |
| one Desk | | 5 | |
| one Waggon | | 5 | |
| Seven Sheep | | 14 | |
| Six hogs & six pigs | | 26 | |
| four Milch Cows | | 60 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Half of flock of Young Cattle in (Lower Tinsel ?) | 25 | |
| Eighty seven Bushels & 20′ of Wheat | 122 | 11 |
| Thirty Bushels & eighteen pounds of Rye | 24 | 20 |
| Forty three Bushels & 12′ of Corn | 28 | 04 |
| Ninety four Bushels of Oat | 33 | 25 |
| Seven & an half Bushels of New Wheat | 4 | 12 |
| | 610 | 87 |

The foregoing Inventory was taken & appraised by us the Second day of August A D 1823

Isaac Eastburn
Jna P. Cornman

Montgomery County

The above named Isaac Eastburn & John Cornman personally appeared before the subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Montgomery & being duly sworn according to Law saith that the appraisment made by them or taken down on the annexed paper is just and true to the best of their knowledge & belief.

Philip Reed

* Montgomery Register of Wills No. 4978, Will and inventory of the personal effects of Henry Pawling (III).

## Notes to the Introduction

1. One of the more popular books about the Encampment is a compilation of newspaper articles written in the 1850's by Henry Woodman, a resident of Valley Forge whose parents and grandparents witnessed the event in person. The stories related in the book are as rife with inaccuracies as with useful anecdotes. See: Henry Woodman, The History of Valley Forge (Oaks, Pennsylvania: John Francis, Sr., 1922).

2. United States Public Law 94-337.

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. Josiah Granville Leach, LL.B., Some Account of the Pawling Family of New York and Pennsylvania, (Lancaster: Wickersham Press, 1918), 1.

2. Ibid, 2-4.

3. Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776 (New York: Dover, 1929), 214.

4. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 8.

5. Reynolds, Dutch Houses, 214-215.

6. In a telephone interview with the historian for the Ulster County Historical Society, it was said that the house burned down in 1936.

7. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 8. The children of Captain Henry Pawling and Neeltje Roosa who were living at the time of his death in 1695 were Jane, Wyntie, John, Albert, Anne, Henry and Mary.

8. Reynolds, Dutch Houses, 214-215. Albert lived in the family house until his death in 1745. His mother Neeltje was still living at the time of his death and was mentioned as a legatee under his will.

9. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 8-11.

10. Ibid, 9-10.

11. Gerald F. DeJong, The Dutch in America, 1609-1974 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 40-44.

12. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 7-8.

13. Ibid, 9-12.

14. Ibid, 9.

15. This transaction was not recorded in the Philadelphia records at the time, but is described in the later sales and divisions of the property. In 1718, a large parcel of land was sold to Edward Farmer by a group of men including Tobias Collet, Daniel Quare and Henry Goldney. In 1719, a 500 acre portion of this land was sold to Henry Pawling. Montgomery County Deed Book 6.39.

16. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 13-14.

17. DeJong, The Dutch in America, 40-44.

18. Arthur Cecil Bining, Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1973), 171. Originally referred to as the Mount Joy Forge, the forge on Valley Creek was begun in 1742.

19. The inventory taken at the time of the death of Henry Pawling (I) lists various livestock including horses, cattle, sheep and hogs. In addition to 400 bushels of grain in the barn, there were 40 acres of corn in the ground. This inventory is included in the Appendix. Philadelphia Bond of Administration and Inventory, Administration No. 50, 1739.

20. Philadelphia Administration Deed Book No. 100, Will 5. Philadelphia Register of Wills, Philadelphia, PA.

21. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 20-22.

22. Montgomery County Deed Book 6.39.

23. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 24-25.

24. Reynolds, Dutch Houses, 361.

25. Ibid, 215. As was mentioned above, the widow of Captain Henry Pawling, Neeltje Roosa, was still living when Levi inherited the property. She had outlived all of her sons.

26. Leach, Some Account, 1-25.

27. Ibid, 12-16.

28. Ibid, 21.

29. Ibid, 21-22. The children of Henry Pawling (II) and Eleanor were Rachel, John, Henry, Benjamin, Nathan, Jesse, William and Catherine.

30. Edward Pinkowski, Washington's Officers Slept Here (Philadelphia: Sunshine Press, 1953) 206-207. The 1743 date of construction appears to have been based on Wetherill and Janeway family tradition. No other documentation has been found to support of refute this date.

31. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 9.

32. Montgomery County Deed Book 16.464. This property was later given by Henry to his son Nathan Pawling and abutted the original Pawling plantation to the east.

33. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 20. It is possible that some of the records of the Provincial Court from this period could have originated from this site and could contain some useful references.

34. Ibid, 21.

35. Surveys of Roads & Townships in Philadelphia, Now Montgomery County by Henry Pannebecker 1722-1742 (Philadelphia: 1883), Society Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This odd little book is a collection of early land surveys of which some are concerned with roads through or near Henry Pawling's land.

36. The Provincial tax records for 1776 assess John Pawling for 200 acres, one negro, three horses, six cows and a ferry.

37. James E. Kurtz, "Archaeological Survey and Assessment: North of the Schuykill River, Volume I: Survey Findings and Recommendations," (Draft), U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region. Philadelphia, PA (unpublished), 1988, 27.

38. Garry Wheeler Stone, "The Mount Joy Forge on Valley Creek," in The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John L. Cotter, ed. Daniel G. Crozier and David G. Orr (Philadelphia: Department of Anthropology, Temple University, 1984), 86-124.

39. Mount Joy Debit Records and Ledgers, AMF 921-928, Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

40. Ibid, March 26, 1763.

41. Eleanor was buried in the graveyard at St. James Church in Evansburg. Her tombstone reads "Here lies the body of Ellinor Pawling who died in the 64 year of her age. June 26, 1778". Nearby are the graves of her sons Nathan and Henry Pawling (III). The adjacent gravestone is now illegible but must belong to her husband Henry Pawling (II). The graves of both Henry (I) and Henry (II) are described in Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, as being in this yard.

42. Cadwallader Papers, Manuscript Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

43. Ibid.

44. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family, 12.

45. This should be a lengthy note outlining the appearance of Henry (II) and Henry (III) concurrently from the early 1770s through the early 1790s.

46. Montgomery County Deed Book 5.331, September 28, 1790. This deed records a transaction which occurred on April 25, 1775 wherein Henry Pawling (II) and his wife conveyed to Henry Pawling (III) a parcel of land in Norriton Township. The transaction itself is of no importance to this report except that the text confirms the identities of the Henry Pawlings who simultaneously appear in the various archival records from the 1770s to the early 1790s. The text of the deed begins:

> To all People to whom these presents shall come Henry Pawling of Providence in the County of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania Esquire and Elinor his wife fond Greeting (.) Know Ye that in Consideration of the natural Love and Effection which the said Henry Pawling and Elinor his wife have and bear towards their Son Henry Pawling Jun'r of Norriton Township in the said County...

47. Describe this census record of 1790.

48. Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4976, will, codicil to will and inventory of the personal estate of Henry Pawling (II).

49. In 1785 John Pawling was granted title to 166 acres of the original Henry Pawling (I) plantation by his father, Henry Pawling (II). Montgomery County Deed Book 6.39.In 1792, shortly before his death, Henry Pawling (II) deeded another 48 acre tract to John. Montgomery County Deed Book 8.40. As early as 1774, however, John appears to have owned and occupied this land. In the 1774 Provincial Tax for the County of Philadelphia John is listed as owning 200 acres and his father as owning 390 acres.

50. Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4976, will, codicil to will and inventory of the personal effects of Henry Pawling (II).

51. Ibid.

52. Montgomery County Deed Book 16.464.

53. Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 4976, will, codicil to will and inventory of the personal estate of Henry Pawling (II).

54. The location of the residence of Henry Pawling (III) can be verified by a number of sources. The Provincial Tax for the County of Philadelphia for 1774 lists a Henry Pawling in Norriton Township in addition to a Henry Pawling, Esq'r, John and Nathan Pawling in Providence Township. The same is true of the "Supply Tax, County of Philadelphia" of 1779, 1780, 1782 and 1783. In the First Federal Census of 1790, most of the Pawlings are found on Pages 158 and 159 of the Montgomery County records, including Henry Pauling (sic), Nathan, Benj. and John Pauling (sic). On these same pages are found the names of other property owners such as Abijah Stephens, of Valley Forge, John Penepacker, of Mill Grove, and James Vaux of Fatlands. On page 162 appears the name of Henry Pauling (sic), including a large household.

55. When Henry (III) bought Nathan's farm, He was living at Walnut Hill.

56. Federal Direct Tax of 1798, Microfilm copies on file at the Historical Society of Montgomery County. In this tax record, Henry Pawling (III) is listed as the owner and occupant of the farm in Providence Township.

57. Montgomery County Deed Book 5.331.

58. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family of New York and Pennsylvania, 22.

59. Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family of New York and Pennsylvania, 21-22.

60. In Montgomery County Deed Book 6.39, a deed wherein Henry Pawling (II) conveyed some of his land to his son John Pawling, the final paragraph reads:

> The 28th Day of Aug Anno Domini 1789 Before me Henry Pawling'junr Esq, one of the Justices Pc for the County of Montgomery came Henry Pawling the Grantor in the above deed named...

61. Josiah Granville Leach, Some Account of the Pawling Family of New York and Pennsylvania, 22.

62. Brooke Elin Vincent, "Function and Use of a Nineteenth-Century Barn, 'Walnut Hill' Estate, Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania,"18.

63. Henry Pawling (III)'s tombstone reads:

In the Memory of
Henry Pawling Esq
who departed this life
(????) 23, 1822
in the 76 year of his age

64. Montgomery County Register of Wills No.4978.

65. Kurtz, 106; Newspaper advertisement of 1823, VR 11.5 1823, Chester County Historical Society.

66. Brook Elin Vincent, "Function and Use of a Nineteenth Century Barn, 'Walnut Hill Estate,' Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania," Masters Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1991.

67. Montgomery County Deed Book 41.587.

68. Montgomery County Deed Book 28.645.

69. Montgomery County Deed Book No. 41.349.

70. Brook Elin Vincent, "Function and Use of a Nineteenth-Century Barn, 'Walnut Hill' Estate, Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania," 46.

71. Ibid, 16.

72. Ibid, 16.

73. Philadelphia Register of Wills No.113.

74. Brook Elin Vincent, "Function and Use of a Nineteenth-Century Barn, 'Walnut Hill' Estate, Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania," 127.

75. Montgomery County Deed Book 65.10.

76. Telephone interview with P.J. Boulware.

77. Original photo in possession of Janeway family descendant Chris Rhodes. Copy on file in archive at Valley Forge National Historical Park.

78. On the east gable of the barn is a large marble date stone. The inscription reads:

Erected by
Samuel Wetherill 1826
Addition by
John P. Wetherill 1845
Solomon Krieble, Carpenter
John Place, Mason

79. Philadelphia Register of Wills No.214.

80. Philadelphia Register of Wills No.680.

81. Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas No. 1, December Term, 1877, No. 500.

82. Brook Elin Vincent, "Function and Use of a Nineteenth-Century Barn, 'Walnut Hill' Estate, Pawling Road, Lower Providence Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania,"19.

83. Montgomery County Register of Wills No. 3278.

84. As reported in "Stately Wetherill Home at Valley Forge Excellently Restored by the Boulwares," in The Sunday Bulletin (May 1, 1955). Copy at the Montgomery County Historical Society, "Wetherill Papers Box, No.1".

85. As reported in "Audubon Mansion Wrecked by Blaze," in the Daily Republican (October 21,1967), copy on file in the archive of Valley Forge National Historical Park.

86. Telephone interview with P.J. Boulware, son of last private owners of Walnut Hill Farm, Date ?

87. Montgomery County Deed Book 4755.2177.

## Notes to Chapter 3

1. Penelope H. Batcheler and William Brookover to Superintendent of Valley Forge National Historical Park, documenting site visit to Walnut Hill, August 24, 1988.

2. Ibid.

3. Henry C. Mercer, "The Dating of Old Houses," a paper read at a meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, New Hope, PA, October 13, 1932, reprinted by the Bucks County Historical Society, 1976, 14.

4. Ibid, 16.

5. Ibid, 13.

6. Jacqueline Thibaut, The Valley Forge Report Volume II. This Fatal Crisis: Logistics, Supply and the Continental Army at Valley Forge, 1777-1778, (National Park Service, Mid-Atlantic Region, Valley Forge National Historical Park, Valley Forge, PA, 1979), 1-15.

7. Chaloner and White Papers, Society Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

8. Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series. Provincial Tax Records for 1774, 1776.

9. Thomas Jones to Charles Stewart, 15 February 1778, Charles Stewart Collection, New York State Historical Association.

10. June 15,1778, Head Quarters, General Orders, RG 93 M 853, Roll 4, p. 164, Miscellaneous Numbered Record Books in the War Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

11. Chaloner and White Account Book of Continental Army Purchases, Chaloner and White Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

12. Facsimile and description this document appears in "Clement Biddle's Return in April 1778 Shows Use of Wheat and Rye Fields During Valley Forge Encampment," The Picket Post (April, 1948), 17-19.

13. Federal Direct Tax of 1798, Microfilm copies on file at the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Roll # 9, page 109.

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